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National Catholic Weekly Review

Vol. 105 No. 3 April 15, 1961 Whole Number 2705

This Week:

Japan Reaches Toward Red China	146
Arthur Perry Crockett	
An Overlooked Weapon	148
Steve Allen	
National Library Week—For All?	150
Harold C. Gardiner	
U.S.-Canadian Relations	152
Brian Mc Auliffe	
Second Thoughts: The Forum, Not the Arena	153
Donald McDonald	

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Correspondence

Visiting Students

EDITOR: Being a student from Kerala, India, studying here on scholarship, I found it interesting to read the letters of James B. Kelley and Fr. Gerard F. Yates, S. J., (10/1 and 2/18) regarding scholarship aid to students from Asia and Africa.

It is true, as Mr. Kelley observes, that the Communists are far ahead and more enthusiastic in such aid programs, as is evident from the recent inauguration of the Friendship University at Moscow by Khrushchev. America has to show more zeal and make more efforts yet.

Catholic educational institutions in America seem to lack fervor in this field when one compares what is being done by such institutions in other less affluent countries. One enlightening example, which is being energetically followed in many university towns in Italy, is the International University Hostel of Padua. Started in 1950, thanks to the initiative and selfless efforts of a layman, Prof. Dr. Francesco Canova, —recently decorated by Pope John XXIII with the Knighthood of Saint Gregory for this service—and the wholehearted assistance and support of the clergy, this institution now accommodates about sixty students from Asia and Africa (which number may seem quite staggering when compared with the figures cited by Fr. Yates), granting them scholarships for their graduate studies in medicine and surgery here at the University of Padua.

So, while appreciating the assistance accorded in the United States to many students from Asia and Africa, I may add that it is high time for American educational institutions to devote more zeal and concern to this very valuable means of aid.

THOMAS C. KANDATHIL

Padua, Italy

Aid to Education

EDITOR: Fr. James J. Murray's article, "What is the Real Issue?" (3/25), presents a unique interpretation of the First Amendment. The "non-establishment clause"—commonly translated as the "separation of Church and State clause"—is viewed as the usual means of guaranteeing religious liberty. He concludes that as the cost of public education makes it financially difficult for the parent to send his child to a religious school, the Federal Government is constitutionally obligated to spend public funds to insure all parents this opportunity.

Fr. Murray discusses this interpretation

of the First Amendment in relation to pending Federal legislation. But is it not also relevant to the operations of the State governments? It is the ever increasing school taxes of the State and local communities which place the most direct burden on Catholic parents. Yet 38 States have clear, unambiguous constitutional prohibitions against granting public assistance to sectarian educational institutions. The Supreme Court has made it explicit that the States have the same obligation under the Fourteenth Amendment to protect individual religious liberty as does the Federal Government under the First Amendment. If the Federal Government, as Fr. Murray understands it, is constitutionally prohibited from refusing aid to parochial schools, does not this prohibition apply with equal force to the States?

Alas! Such a nice, good world we do not live in. To expect the Supreme Court to rule that State financial assistance given exclusively to public schools is a violation of the religious liberty of the parents who send their children to church-related schools is unrealistic and naive.

In our desire to urge the nation to adopt a wise public policy which will insure the continued growth and development of parochial schools, is it necessary, or intelligent, so to twist the legal traditions of the nation to imply that such a policy is a constitutional obligation and requirement?

JOSEPH P. FARRY

New York, N.Y.

[We do not find that in his article Fr. Murray asked the Supreme Court to do anything. He only urged his interpretation of the Constitution as a basis for what he considers "wise public policy."—Ed.]

EDITOR: The Federal aid-to-education proposals now before Congress constitute a double-barreled peril to private schools particularly and to education generally in this country.

If the proposals pass, parents of private school children will pay an ever increasing amount of Federal taxes to support a vast spending program for schools. This program will increase the cost of education per child because of the inherent inefficiency, duplication and waste which accompany any centralized bureaucratic system.

Private schools will have to "keep up" or invite take-over by the public school system. Parents of private school children have about reached their financial limit in supporting two school systems.

Government grants controlled by a Federal agency will be manipulated as a form of bribery to the grantees to adopt agency-determined standards for curriculum, teachers' qualifications and a host of other details. The end result will be the centralized imposition of standards by a handful of agency "experts" on all public education. Need it be said that such a system will be less than friendly to privately operated schools? The private schools remaining outside the system will be indirectly harassed and penalized in any number of ways.

There is only one solution that can 1) pass the test of constitutionality, 2) give the most aid to school children by avoiding bureaucratic waste, 3) avoid the obvious danger of Federal dictation to education and 4) retain the variety of opportunity traditionally offered by education in the United States.

That solution is: DIRECT INCOME-TAX CREDITS TO THE PARENTS OF THE SCHOOL CHILDREN THEMSELVES.

After all, it is help to the children that the proponents of Federal aid claim to desire. The income-tax credit method gives that aid directly with the least loss of the tax dollar to Federal administration and without creation of any new Federal agency. The Bureau of Internal Revenue can administer these credits by accepting tuition receipts filed along with the parents' income-tax returns.

It seems to me that this method of Federal aid to education should not be opposed by anyone who is genuinely interested in aiding the education of school children in the United States.

CLARENCE E. MORAN

Charleston, W. Va.

Foster Homes

EDITOR: I have read "Commies and Cub Scouts" (4/1) and feel terribly shocked at the Cuban government's decree to indoctrinate Cuban boys and girls. Can you inform me about any organizations which would receive such children in the United States and place them in adequate homes?

I would like to open my home to one or two of these children. I will be able to present references to show that I am capable of this responsibility.

(MRS.) HELEN C. MACISAAC

Bayonne, N.J.

[Cuban refugee children arriving in this country without their parents are being placed in homes by the Catholic Charities offices of various dioceses. Interested heads of families should contact that office in their own diocese or write to the Catholic Welfare Bureau, 395 N.W. First St., Miami 36, Fla.—Ed.]

Current Comment

Soviet Reply on Laos

Optimistic was hardly the word to describe our first reaction to the Soviet note on Laos. Replying on April 1 to a British memorandum, the Soviets piously agreed that "peace" must be restored in Laos "as quickly as possible." They agreed with the U.S. and British positions that the International Control Commission for Laos, composed of Canada, India and Poland, should be re-activated and that a 14-nation conference be convened to discuss the future of the country. On the all-important question of an immediate cease-fire as a prelude to negotiation, however, the Soviets remained mute.

This is a familiar Communist tactic. If Mr. Khrushchev has his way, we are likely to be in for a lengthy exchange of notes, long-drawn-out conferences and prolonged negotiations about "peace" in Laos. Meanwhile, unless we miss our guess, the Communist-led rebels of Laos will remain on the move. Indeed, on the very day the Soviet reply to the British was made public, the Pathet Lao achieved a "major breakthrough" on the fighting front to capture a strategic town near the Thai border.

It was Mao Tse-tung who wrote, "Power grows out of the barrel of the gun," but it is Mr. Khrushchev who seems to be making shrewd use of that principle in Laos. The longer the Soviet Premier stalls in bringing about a cease-fire, the more consolidated will become the position of the Pathet Lao. And the more difficult it will prove to keep the Communists out of the "neutral" coalition government everyone seems to feel is the ideal solution for Laos.

... Painful Dilemma

Except that the freedom of its people hangs in the balance, Laos itself is perhaps not of tremendous importance. Strategically, however, the country is the key to South Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia.

During the past two years Vietnamese Communists have been steadily

increasing their guerrilla activity in South Vietnam to the point where they pose a positive threat to the pro-Western government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Should the Reds gain control of Laos, whether by force or through a compromise political settlement, they will be in a position to penetrate South Vietnam in greater numbers.

But how do we prevent the Communist conquest of Laos? What if it becomes clear that the hoped-for political settlement is just so much wishful thinking? Do we use force? A painful dilemma faces the present Administration in Washington. The crisis in Laos is none of its doing. Yet involvement in a Korea-type war is bound to resurrect the charges that a Democratic Administration inevitably leads to military ventures.

Is the Administration therefore to back away from military involvement in Laos? Or are the American people mature enough to realize that a halt must be called to the Communist erosion of the free world? The alternative to victory in Southeast Asia is too grim to contemplate.

New Turn to Foreign Aid

Possibly not one American in ten has ever heard of the year-old Development Assistance Group, which met the last week in March in relative privacy in London. What the ten nations assembled there accomplished could not compete for front-page space with the crisis over Laos, the continued rumblings in the Congo or the savage Soviet infighting in the United Nations. In the perspective of history, however, the decisions made by the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Canada, Portugal and the Netherlands to narrow the explosive gap between the developed and underdeveloped lands will probably be judged the most important event of a dramatic, tension-taut week.

The meeting of the Development Assistance Group was a triumph for the Kennedy Administration. After several days of earnest discussion, the conferees

agreed with the United States 1) that the rich nations must do more than they have been doing to spur the development of the poor nations, 2) that they must co-ordinate their efforts and put them on a stable, continuing basis, 3) that they must divide the burden equitably among all the donor nations. Before adjourning on March 30, the participants set up a committee to study what each nation's fair share of the common burden should be.

There is solid ground to believe that those decisions will be energetically pursued. One of the few hopeful developments on the international scene today is the increasing realization among the "have" nations that they can save themselves—and turn back communism in the process—only by satisfying the longings of the "have nots" for the good things which modern technology so abundantly provides.

Mystery in the Congo

"Politics," the saying goes, "makes strange bedfellows." While in New York the Soviets have been doing their utmost to wreck the UN's Congo operation, anti-Communist Congolese have been excoriating the UN on the spot. For months Rajeshwar Dayal of India, Secretary General Hammarskjold's representative in the Congo, has been occasioning most of the copy that goes into the *Courier d'Afrique*. Mr. Dayal, and therefore the UN, so the Leopoldville daily insists, is really playing the Communist game in the country.

We must confess that at times we have begun to wonder ourselves just what the UN is up to in the Congo. UN troops, for example, sprang into action on March 29 when President Moise Tshombé of Katanga acted to drive out of his province the pro-Communist troops of Antoine Gizenga. Yet the UN had stood idly by when, a few weeks previously, the Gizenga troops launched their invasion of Katanga. Why, the Congolese ask, does the UN intervene only when non-Communist troops make a move?

A recent editorial in the *Courier d'Afrique* reminds Secretary General Hammarskjold that the UN operation in the Congo can succeed only if there is "frank and close" co-operation between the UN and legitimate Congolese authorities. Obviously there can be no

Anticommunism

How vigilant ought we be against domestic communism? How should a conscientious citizen appraise the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities? FR. JOHN F. CRO-
NIN, S.S., discusses these and related topics in next week's issue.

mutual trust and confidence when the majority of the Congolese are convinced that the UN is acting against the national interest by favoring the Reds at every turn.

At the moment, because the Soviet Union and other countries have reneged on their obligations, the United States is reportedly contributing half the cost of the UN operation. We are not paying these substantial sums, we hope, to help establish a Communist regime in Kataranga or anywhere else in the Congo.

Debating Colonialism

In our UN vote on the issue of Angola (AM. 4/1, p. 9), we showed a new face to the Afro-Asian nations. We supported a resolution that demanded an inquiry into this Portuguese colony, even though our British, French, Turkish and Chinese allies took a different view. Apparently our commitments to our Nato allies will no longer prevent us from taking a stand on colonial issues. Afro-Asia has begun to look with a new hope toward the United States.

From the Afro-Asian point of view, this shift in policy is no doubt wise. Nevertheless, we share the concern of Christopher Emmet, chairman of the American Friends of the Captive Nations. In a letter to the New York Times of March 23, Mr. Emmet deplored the inconsistency of a policy which prompts us, on the one hand, to support UN debate on Angola and, on the other, to suggest removing "Cold War issues" from the UN agenda. In return for a lessening of Cold War tensions we would agree to stop talking about Hungary and Tibet.

Who could oppose the lessening of Cold War tensions? But this, we submit, is not the way to go about it. As Mr. Emmet quite correctly points out, if we stand up against the colonial involvements of Nato allies like Portu-

gal, then we must take a firm and consistent stand against colonialism everywhere. "Thus," he writes, "if we debate Angola, we should demand debate on Communist colonialism not only in Hungary and Tibet but in the Baltic countries, where it is not camouflaged as it is in Hungary. . . ."

It is unjust for small, peaceful countries like Belgium and Portugal to get all the opprobrium in the UN, while the Soviet Union, the most ruthless colonial power of all, is spared embarrassment.

Racism on Trial

Adolf Eichmann, ex-Nazi now facing trial in Israel for mass murder, headed the special Gestapo section for Jewish affairs. The Jews, therefore, were his primary concern. But, as the official numbering of his section, IV-B-4, indicates, his work was only part of a larger evil operation of the parent agency, the RSHA (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*), which absorbed the SS, the SD and the Gestapo.

The RSHA became the executioner whose ultimate function was to establish the unquestioned supremacy of the German race. This was to be accomplished not only by the extermination of the Jews, but also by the subjugation of the Slavs. The same mission included the task of purifying the Germans themselves from every trace of racial "weakness."

Mankind did not have long to await the bitter harvest of racism erected into an absolute standard of conduct. As one Nazi witness at Nuremberg avowed, "When you teach for years that the Slavs are an inferior people and the Jew is hardly human, the outcome is inevitable." The Eichmann trial will freshen our knowledge of what the Jews suffered. But the trail of racism does not end there. What the Slavs, and particularly the Poles, suffered, will probably never be adequately appreciated outside of Eastern Europe.

The tale of concentration camps and executions includes the Germans, too. The new review *Kontraste*, published by the Catholic Youth Federation in Germany, has recalled for the benefit of the rising generation that a million Germans went to concentration camps before the war, while in 1943 a total of 5,684 Germans were executed on po-

litical charges, with an additional 5,764 executed in 1944. For all his personal responsibility, Eichmann was only a small cog in a vast murder machine whose only moral absolute was race.

Library Segregation at Work

The article on segregation in public libraries (see p. 150) was standing in type when an event occurred in the South which shockingly dramatizes the situation we call to the attention of the National Book Committee.

In Jackson, Miss., on March 27, nine young Negroes entered the city's public library in the State's first "sit-in" demonstration. The Negroes, according to information elicited by a phone call to Rev. Mark Figaro, S.V.D., of the Church of Christ the King in Jackson, were all well-dressed and orderly. Their presence was protested by some patrons in the library (not by the librarians), and the police were called. They promptly ordered the Negroes out, telling them: "There's a colored library on Mill Street; you are welcome there." That colored library, the Carter Library, consists, we are informed, of "one dismal room." Thus is "equal facility" provided for the Negro 35.7 per cent of Jackson's 144,442 population.

When the Negroes refused to leave, they were jailed under a 1960 law that makes it a misdemeanor to defy a policeman's order to disperse. On March 29 the nine Negroes were fined \$100 each and given suspended 30-day jail sentences. An admittedly orderly crowd of Negroes that assembled before the court house was dispersed by 14 policemen, two of whom had police dogs on leash.

Certainly, for the Negroes of Jackson—and for how many more in the South?—the slogan of National Library Week rings with a hollow sound.

The Rocking Frontiersman

"Partner, how do we reach those New Frontiers? By rocket?" No, chum, the Pioneer par excellence favors the rocker. Since Mr. Kennedy has been riding a fireside Pegasus for five years, and is not a man to swap nags in midstream, the forward mode of motion has been set. Already the decrepit rocking chair industry is tooling up to meet the challenge. Soon the merry squeak of the

"thinking man's seat" will echo in the Pentagon, on the Hill, not to speak of Daddy's office and Caroline's nursery.

How did we ever forget the virtues of the rocking chair? Now we must learn anew that it gives gentle exercise and improves tired blood. It is a homely specific for dropsy and arteriosclerosis. In the parlor it functions as a family "integrator." In the bedroom, its sedative action induces sweet repose.

These virtues must not go unexploited. Soon we will see TV commercials that show Whistler's mother benignly bobbing to the strains of "Ole Rockin' Chair's Got Me." Corny, of course, and the Vic Tanny gyms will be incensed, but a bright relief from those dripping Greek statues, fouled-up abdominal gears and the depilatory woes of adolescent girls.

While being revived, the old rocker should be modernized. We recommend push-button speed drives, safety belts for the compulsive titubophiles, and a

due measure of built-in obsolescence to keep the market thriving.

Since the chief political virtue of the rocker is the power to charm away tensions, Mr. Kennedy must send a plush model to the Kremlin. Nothing will so effectively thaw the Cold War as a relaxed, slightly hypnotized and possibly seasick Khrushchev. Who knows? Maybe peace will come out of the rocking chair endlessly rocking.

Of course, we must be prepared to hear Nikita say: 1) This locomotor is a Russian invention; 2) Lenin advocated it as a means of peaceful coexistence; 3) We have a proverb: "Who rocks at the summit will very soon plummet."

The John Birch Society

A highly controversial organization called the John Birch Society has recently become front-page news.

Dedicated to militant anticommunism, the organization calls for such

items as the repeal of the Federal income-tax amendment, an end to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and foreign aid, restrictions on collective bargaining and cessation of all civil rights programs.

We can hardly conceive of a more singularly ineffective way of fighting communism than the above program. But since there is little chance of its policies being adopted by the nation, the John Birch Society need cause little anxiety on this score.

What does concern us is the apparent willingness of this group to stigmatize men in public life as Communists or pro-Communists because they are not anti-Communist in the way the Society likes. We say "apparent" because the evidence that the Society makes these accusations is not yet entirely clear.

This much we can say now, and with all possible firmness: there is no room in American public life for the charge of treason as a political weapon. The

The President's Brief on Federal Aid

TWO ASSUMPTIONS dominate the memoranda recently submitted by the Administration on the constitutionality of Federal aid to education. One is that President Kennedy's well-known views are correct. The second is that the Supreme Court has learned nothing about education or religion during the last 13 years.

From a technical point of view, the memoranda were submitted by Abraham A. Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, in response to a request by Sen. Wayne Morse, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education. Senator Morse had phrased his request in the broadest terms. He did not ask explicitly for a brief supporting the President's position. He did not have to ask—he knew what he would get. As a result, it is scarcely surprising or newsworthy that the memoranda produced by one Cabinet Department (HEW), in consultation with attorneys of another (the Department of Justice), have reached the same constitutional conclusions as Mr. Kennedy. In point of fact, they are not memoranda but briefs: arguments by lawyers in favor of a position their client has already taken.

One may well feel compassion for the Administration lawyers. They were asked to reconcile three sets of statements—the Supreme Court's opinions, especially in *Cochran*, *Everson*, *McCullum* and *Zorach*;

President Kennedy's stand on grants and loans to church schools; and existing legislation for chaplains, hospitals, GI's, colleges, high schools and grammar schools. Constrained as they were to assume the mutual harmony of all these elements, the Administration lawyers were not free to examine the basic issues impartially.

Briefs, however, are not discredited simply because they are partisan. The function of a brief is to marshal the soundest arguments available for the truth and justice of the client's position. Arguments advanced in briefs must be answered on the merits, not dismissed with an equally partisan shrug.

The arguments elaborated in the Administration brief are, to be blunt about it, the product of first-rate legal craftsmanship. They can be answered as they deserve only in a full-scale, professional brief. What the public must understand and remember is that these arguments are not the products of independent minds freely seeking the truth. Unless the mental strait jacket in which the government lawyers worked is kept clearly in mind, the public may interpret the brief as fresh endorsement of the President's position. There are no new troops in Mr. Kennedy's camp, but there is plenty of new artillery.

The second basic assumption in the brief is that the opinions in *Everson* and *McCullum* command assent from the Supreme Court today as in 1947 and 1948. The retreat in *Zorach* (1952) is dismissed simply as "a somewhat more flexible attitude toward

FR. WHELAN S.J., is a constitutional lawyer admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court.

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men whose policies the John Birch Society opposes may be ill-informed, misguided or even incompetent. But to question their patriotism or to accuse them of consciously working against their country is to poison the springs of political debate. It makes the operation of our democratic system of government impossible.

We trust that the John Birch Society has not been guilty of this unpardonable political sin and that it will speedily make its innocence plain for all to see. If it cannot or will not do so, it deserves no support on the plea that it is fighting communism.

Belgium's Discontent

European newspaper comment on the Belgian election of March 26 (AM. 4/8, p. 42) invariably characterized it as a display of national discontent or discouragement. The fact that the shift in relative voting strength among the ma-

ior parties was slight indicates, moreover, that the voters gave voice to much popular uncertainty.

The party in power, the Christian Socialists, suffered the sharpest drop in percentage of popular vote—from 46.5 per cent in 1958 to 41.5 per cent. More costly was their loss of a majority position in the Senate. Surprisingly enough, while the Liberal party also surrendered a few seats, the Socialists simply managed to hold their own. This was quite a feat, however, in view of frequent predictions of widespread disaffection among party members over the conduct and outcome of the Socialist-sponsored protest strike of last December.

Where did many unhappy voters turn? To the Communists and the splinter parties of the extreme right, it seems. Clearly, the electorate gave no true mandate to any one party.

As was to be expected, Communist spokesmen in Brussels heralded the returns as a sharp rebuke to the Christian

Socialists and as a significant boost to their own party and to the Socialists, with whom they valiantly strive to identify themselves. Everyone else admits that the task of forming a coalition government may not be an easy one.

Three possible alignments command the greatest attention at the moment: Christian Socialists and Liberals; Christian Socialists and Socialists; a union of the three major parties. Of these, the first seems ruled out by the voting on March 26, which, if it did anything, rejected such a combination. Though the third cannot be dismissed, the second possibility seems to have the nod from the forecasters. More important is the fact that it also enjoys the widest support among the trade unions.

One certainty emerges from the current political fog in Belgium. The new government, whatever its make-up, must immediately undertake the task of dispelling the discontent manifested at the polls on March 26.

problems of separation." Significant changes in the personnel of the court, in the international situation, in the domestic necessities of educational growth and financing are not mentioned, much less evaluated. Most important of all, the brief does not face up to the enormous difference in the practical impact of a single State's school-transportation program and of a comprehensive scheme of Federal assistance at all levels of education. In *Everson*, a majority of the court thought neutrality toward religion sufficiently affected by the denial of public school buses to justify reimbursement of parents for transportation expenses. In the light of this, what the present court would actually do with a massive Federal program, manifestly designed (as the present program is not) to maintain neutrality toward the religious beliefs of all parents and children, must remain a matter of conjecture.

There would be no need, however, to conjecture at all, were it not for certain sweeping generalizations in the *Everson* opinion which not even the government brief is willing to accept.

A substantial part of the brief, reflecting the embarrassment caused by the *Everson* generalizations, is devoted to the development of "criteria" for judging the constitutionality of Federal educational programs resulting in benefit to religion. These criteria are: 1) How closely is the benefit related to the religious aspects of the institution aided? 2) Of what economic significance is the benefit? 3) To what ex-

tent is the selection of the institutions receiving benefits determined by government? 4) What alternative means are available to accomplish the legislative objective without resulting in the religious benefits ordinarily proscribed? Could these benefits be avoided or minimized without defeating the legislative purpose or without running afoul of other constitutional objections?

Where these criteria came from is not clear, but it is certain that they did not come from the *Everson*, *McCollum* and *Zorach* cases. They represent a conscientious attempt by government lawyers to create a set of standards which will avoid extreme and absurd applications of the *Everson* dicta. What they do not represent is a conscientious attempt to create standards ensuring government neutrality toward religion.

In the liturgy of the Church on Good Friday there is a prayer for those entrusted with the solemn duties of government. Part of the prayer is a petition that the *integritas religionis* and the *securitas patriae* may both be achieved. I do not stretch the words by translating them "full religious freedom" and "the national welfare." With millions of other Americans, Catholics do not concede that there is any conflict between these objectives. The United States is not powerless to design its educational programs in such a way that they will not interfere with a traditional exercise of parental, educational and religious liberty.

CHARLES M. WHELAN

Washington Front

SOME PROBLEMS OF NEUTRALISM

PRESIDENT KENNEDY in a recent press conference demanded that the Russians join us in bringing peace and a genuinely neutral government to Laos. The British, with full American backing, presented the Russian government with the terms under which discussions for establishing this neutralist government could be held.

The mildly martial rhetoric in which the President couched his statements tended to obscure the fact that the British terms were actually the same ones that the Russians had urged only a few short months ago—terms which the Eisenhower Administration found unacceptable.

The ardently pro-Administration Washington *Post*, in an article by Chalmers M. Roberts a week after the press conference, noted that the avoidance of an armed clash was "probably the only good thing that can be said about what now appears likely to happen in Laos." The article went on to say that Laos almost certainly would be divided into Communist and non-Communist sections or would be united under a coalition government in which the Pathet Lao leaders would hold important posts.

These points in the Roberts article may help to explain why Thai, Vietnamese and Filipino representa-

tives at Seato were at one time reported to have been greatly disturbed by this country's willingness to accept neutralism in Laos. No doubt these governments were also disturbed by America's reliance on those two apostles of neutralism—England's Macmillan and India's Nehru, neither of whom has been particularly vigorous in opposing Communist aggression in Asia.

A policy of neutralism is difficult for the West to pursue in Asia without destroying the confidence of its friends. The West is faced with the fact that a neutralist government will almost certainly insist on the withdrawal of Western forces. By contrast the Pathet Lao rebels will probably be integrated into the national army. Further, a neutral government will clearly mean undercutting the American-oriented Boun Oum government while elevating the status of the rebels.

These developments will assuredly increase the doubts of the pro-Western governments in Vietnam and Thailand about their own futures. What assurances do these governments have that the West may not at some future date agree to "neutralize" their countries? Can the hard-pressed government of Vietnam expect the necessary aid from this country that will prevent further incursions from the North Vietnam Communist forces? Maybe it was these worries that prompted Thailand at one point to threaten to go it alone in defense of Laos.

At this writing a peace of sorts in Laos seems probable. The difficult problem of preserving the integrity of Southeast Asia remains.

HOWARD PENNIMAN

On All Horizons

IN FR. LORD'S PATH • Following is the schedule for the 31st year of the Summer Schools of Catholic Action: Hendersonville, N.C. (June 5-9); Duluth, Minn. (June 26 to July 1); San Francisco (July 3-8); Pittsburgh (July 10-15); New York City (Aug. 14-19); Chicago (Aug. 21-26); Dallas (Aug. 28 to Sept. 2). Special sessions are planned for adults and for college and nursing school students in Chicago (Aug. 28 to Sept. 1). The Sodality Congress of the Lay Apostolate will be held in New York City (Aug. 25-29). For further information write to the SSCA, 3115 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 18, Mo.

SUMMER FOR SERVICE • The Grail, international training institute for young women, announces the following program of apostolic study weeks, with respective featured speakers: June 10-18, "Woman's Role in the Professions"

(Dr. Karl Stern); July 21-28, "Man-kind's Unity—Our Responsibility" (Rev. Jean Daniélou, S.J.); Aug. 5-12, "The Person and the Community" (Rev. Dr. Josef Goldbrunner). A weekend on the communications arts will be held July 7-9 for professional and aspiring artists, writers and musicians. For further information, write Miss Anne Mulkeen, director, Grailville, Loveland, Ohio.

APOSTOLIC • Layman's Day will be observed at Fontbonne College, St. Louis, Mo., April 17. Talks, panels and discussions will center on the place of the laity in the Church and especially in parish life. The principal scheduled speaker is Rev. Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., editor of *Worship*.

PLACE FOR PRAYER • During 1960 a total of 550 diocesan and religious priests made the spiritual exercises at the Sacred Heart Retreat House for

Priests, Auriesville, N.Y. The schedule of the 33 five-day retreats to be conducted for the rest of the year, April 9 to Dec. 8, with respective retreat masters, may be had from Rev. William J. Schlaerth, S.J., director.

DE ARTE SCRIBENDI • At Boston College, Sat., April 29, successful professional writers will be featured in a Writers' Conference. Among panelists we note novelists Ralph Ellison and Elizabeth Janeway, historian Samuel Eliot Morison, biographer Joe McCarthy, playwright Dore Schary and poet W. D. Snodgrass. Reservations from the Boston College Humanities Series, Chestnut Hill 67, Mass.

THE WORD • The Preachers Institute, which has met at the Catholic University for the past 28 years, will hold its month-long session this year at Onchiota, N.Y., 15 miles north of Saranac Lake, June 27 to July 27. Details from the Preachers Institute, c/o Fr. Madden, Box 283, Catholic Univ., Wash. 17, D.C.

R.A.G.

Editorials

The State and Education

WHEN THE SMOKE of controversy has cleared away from the question of Federal aid to nonpublic schools, one thing at least will be clear. The issue is not really the "establishment of religion." Rather it is the establishment of the public school. The central question in the whole confused debate is the proper role of the state in education.

P.S. 163, of course, will continue to stand where it has always stood, on the corner of Fifth and Elm Streets in Anytown, U.S.A. No one questions the necessity of its being there or its right to generous support by public taxes. But granted that P.S. 163 is there to stay, we may still profitably ask *why* it is there.

To most Americans this question will probably seem silly because its answer is so obvious. People want their children to be educated and a democratic society needs educated citizens. So the community builds a free public school for all those who want to use it. Those who prefer another kind of school for their children build one and pay for it out of their own pockets. That is the American way. It is very simple and clear.

Simple it is, too, until one thinks about it. One complicating factor is that the public school is a state school. Most Americans think of it rather as a community school. But, as the courts remind us each time a case arises concerning Bible reading or released-time religious instruction, every public school is an agency of one or other of the States of the Union. What the public school does, the state is deemed to do, in the eyes of the Constitution and the laws.

Why, then, does the state run schools? Is it because no other institution in society has the resources to educate an entire population? Or is it because the state is by nature an educational institution? Do we have public schools because private schools are incapable of meeting the needs of all our people? Or do we send children to public schools because we want their minds and hearts to be molded by that supreme human institution, the state? It makes a great difference which answer we give.

Some people, at least, seem to have no doubt as to the right answer. The *New Republic*, for example, in its leading editorial on March 20, admits the constitutional right of parochial schools to exist. Then it continues:

But we misunderstand the scheme if we think of the state as neutral. It is neutral in that it must prefer none of our many religions and cultural strains. But it is itself committed to exerting a secular, unifying, equalitarian force. While required impartially to accept the presence in society of sectarian influences, the state is nevertheless itself a party in the contest. To accept the principle of general support of public and private schools equally out of public funds is to abandon the mission of the

state, since it removes the single most effective inducement available to the state to draw people to its system of schools and away from centrifugal systems.

The *New Republic's* words conjure up a vision of the American child imbibing the milk of sound secular doctrine at the broad bosom of Our Holy Mother the State. We are happy to note that in a later editorial on April 3 our esteemed sister journal somewhat modifies this impression. But it still maintains that the state has a mission to educate. We strongly question this assumption.

A state which considers that it has a "mission" to mold the minds of its young citizens is ipso facto the rival of every church and makes a claim which can only be described as implicitly totalitarian. Such a state has no place in a free and constitutional system of government.

The essence of constitutionalism is the principle that the state has *limited* functions. A constitutional state will foster, support and even supply education if necessary. But the state will operate schools because its people need and want them, not because the state regards itself as properly an educational institution.

Therefore a constitutional state will never look upon independent schools as rivals in the fulfillment of the state's own task. Rather, a free state will encourage such schools. For a free society is by definition one in which free institutions flourish.

In the present crisis in our educational development, the Federal Government proposes for the first time to furnish general aid to education. The question before us is whether, if such a program is adopted, the Government will aid education—all of it—or will aid only state schools. It is a momentous decision which will have far-reaching effects on our nature as a free society.

Fort Sumter Revisited

"ONE OF THE MOST BRILLIANT and bloodless victories in the records of the world," said the April 13, 1861, entry in the diary of a young Charlestonian, Miss Emma E. Holmes. Opera glasses in hand, she and her cousin Sallie had enthusiastically observed almost every detail of the firing on Fort Sumter. What made her excitement all the more ladylike and Christian was the pleasant circumstance that "after thirty-three hours consecutive cannonading not one man was hurt on either side." It looked like a comic-opera war.

Some time later, however, Robert E. Lee penned his classic "General Order No. 9, 10th April 1865: After four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources." During these four years of unspeakable horror, many hundreds of thousands of men had given their lives in the vastest catastrophe of our nation's history.

The Civil War centennial has evoked widely variant attitudes—from gala re-enactments of ceremonies, to the comment of a cynical columnist who finds it all just a silly hobby of people too young to have fought in

World War I and too old for World War II, and who therefore don't know what war is. However, to those who reflect seriously, there is room neither for exuberance nor for cynicism. Such people know that the most costly lesson of our national experience must not be left unlearned.

"The War" was both a "Civil War" and a "War Between the States." Indeed, all war is in a sense fratricidal, a mutual slaughter of brothers. And all war is a war between states, sectional and regional groupings. The special calamity of this war was its unhappy combination of ideological and local hatreds. When an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, John A. Campbell, tried to negotiate between North and South, he sadly found the grievances "not remediable," the agitation "resulting from a fundamental difference between the sections on questions of active and living interest," and the conflict "irrepressible."

In retrospect we see no one-sided guilt, no single cause. To many, slavery was the issue; to others, it was "that stale red-herring of Yankee knavery." To Lincoln, the true purpose was to preserve the Union, for, he said, "secession is the essence of anarchy." On the other hand, Jefferson Davis in his Inaugural Address said: "We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued." Were we to be one country or many?

All wars leave their scars, especially on the side that is the greater loser. But scars that are forever picked tend to fester, and are no longer badges of glory. This centennial of tragedy can only be a massive new frustration if self-seeking demagogues use it to further the cause of hate and prejudice. What was deeply good in the Northern ideal is a lasting gain—freedom for all men, regardless of race, and a single united people. What was deeply good in the Southern ideal should not be lost either—the dignity and worth of regions, a feeling for home and person. All of us, North and South, must see to it that these values are not twisted and thwarted by men who abdicate responsibility in their love of power.

Kibbutz and Peace Corps

NO ONE is still quite sure whether the modern crusade known as the Peace Corps (AM. 4/8, p. 49) is a sound and healthy challenge to the idealism of American youth or merely a glamorous enticement to tourism at government expense. It could, of course, be a compound of both without any serious impairment of objectives, provided the elements of the compound are kept in correct proportion.

Every idealistic venture will generate a certain amount of superficial glamor no matter how solid its basic motivation. Let's see how this operates in the life of a country. A case in point is the *kibbutz*, the Israeli communal type of farm which for many in Israel is a symbol of the purpose and energy of the young state itself.

Three years ago, a Frenchman by the name of Vin-

cent Thibout, and his wife Thérèse, spent 18 months living in the Sdeh Eliahu Emeek Beth Shean Kibbutz on the Israeli-Jordan frontier. The Thibouts were so impressed by the spirit and attitude of the *kibbutz* farmers that they were converted to Judaism and, on their return to France, gathered about them 89 fellow Parisians who were equally disenchanted with the sterility of urban society, and founded a *kibbutz* on an isolated plateau in Languedoc. The community has been in existence for a year now, is economically self-sufficient, and is planning to expand.

But the ideal of the *kibbutz* means different things to different people. A prosperous tourist agent in Baltimore named Sam Finegold, whose specialty is out-of-the-way holidays, is equally impressed by the phenomenon of the *kibbutz*, but he seems to concentrate on a different aspect of the ideal. According to a report in the *Jerusalem Post*, Mr. Finegold feels that the *kibbutz* is Israel's chief attraction, and he would like to set up a chain of "Kibbutz Hotels" adjoining the ordinary *kibbutz* but run as luxury establishments. He further suggests, according to the report: "Trenches and barbed wire would lend 'color,' and the youth of the real *kibbutz* would help by wearing brief khaki shorts and by carrying guns (not necessarily loaded)." This would turn the ideal of the *kibbutz* into a spectator sport, and would transform a truly idealistic venture into a cheap carnival.

Obverse facets of an ideal are found in every big national venture. The problem is to keep them in proper perspective. The Peace Corps program would seem to have its own built-in glamor: travel abroad, encounter with a foreign culture and adventurous challenge. These things are good in themselves and, obviously, an integral part of the program. What must be stressed now, and made equally obvious, is the inner motivation of the ideal.

The eager response of young America to the Peace Corps challenge is a heartening sign, but, in itself, it is merely a sign of willingness to serve. At this stage, the Peace Corps is a symbol of the energy of America, but it does not connote as yet the concomitant element of definite purpose which will channel that energy. It is now up to the co-ordinators of the program to spell out very carefully the aims and objectives of the Peace Corps and, in doing so, to redefine the purpose of America to its youth. They must realize, also, that the ideal proposed must so engage its adherents that the achievement of that ideal becomes its own satisfaction and reward.

Marching Along at Easter

THIS YEAR'S Easter saw a fairly widespread organization of peace walks, marches for peace and peace parades. Since there is no better season in which to strike the notes of life and triumphant hope, future years may see the Easter protest against armaments competing for attention with the traditional display of fashion finery along Main Street.

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In New York, under the sponsorship of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 3,500 people marched on the UN headquarters on April 1. Meanwhile, although they did not march, a group of Quakers were maintaining a prayer vigil around the Armed Forces recruiting booth in Times Square. Two thousand young folk also paraded past the San Francisco Opera House, birthplace of the UN, and some 1,500 trekked into Chicago's Loop from suburban Evanston for a peace rally. Similar demonstrations against armaments and nuclear weapons testing took place in other cities of the United States and abroad.

Although peace movements in this country have never shown the radicalism or won the mass support that has gathered around Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, we do possess a number of fairly vocal groups that range the spectrum from moderate to extreme pacifism. The most prominent is the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). The largest, and perhaps most conservative, is the American Friends Committee. On the left are the Peacemakers and the Committee for Non-Violent Action. Other groups of varying hue go by such names as the War Resisters League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and One Hundred Days for Peace.

Although all these groups have their unknown quota of Communists and fellow travelers, there is no reason to doubt that most people who join such organizations are honest idealists in search of a better world. They are little people who view the accelerating arms race with understandable alarm, dread the possibility that nobody may be around to usher in the 21st century, and strive earnestly to have government do something to quell their fears. Such people have a right to be heard on an issue that touches everyone vitally; indeed, they must be heard, if only because they express a theme of hope that is seldom emphasized amid the iron clangor of the weapon stockpiles.

Nevertheless, we view the growth of grassroots movements against armaments with a healthy reserve.

►So far, popular movements for peace have been more noted for fervor and passion than for political realism. It is amusing to see youths marching along, plunking banjos and chanting, "One, two, three, four, we don't want another war; five six, seven, eight, why don't we negotiate?"—but it must appall statesmen and military leaders, weighed down with the problems of security, to imagine such raw naïveté, multiplied by millions, becoming a factor in the determination of national policy. Experts on disarmament regard its problems as the most complex that international society has ever faced. Pressure on the government to unravel those complexities hastily and unwisely is no contribution to their solution. Grassroots drives for disarmament, however spontaneous, heartfelt or massive they may be, are no substitute for the steady influence of an informed public opinion. What is worse, such movements can be a grave threat to our safety, if they fall under the influence of the wrong parties.

►This last warning is no conjectural worry. According to a recent report to the Committee on the Judiciary of

the U.S. Senate, "the Communists have not only set up obvious front organizations; they have openly avowed their intention of entering into and attempting to utilize the various non-Communist movements and organizations dedicated to peace and disarmament." Moreover, they have been "forthright in emphasizing that the paramount objective . . . is to advance the interests of the Soviet Union in opposition to the United States."

A hamburger-stand operator, watching some of Easter's marchers enter his shop, said: "What is this? Gideon's army?" We fear not. Gideon's three hundred routed the Madianites by creating a big uproar. Not so easily will peace marchers defuse the bombs or crack the Iron Curtain. But they should be very wary lest the hypnotic strains of the Pied Piper of Moscow lure them into what could become a death march for the free world.

On Your Feet, Men!

THIS SHOULD NOT BE considered a self-serving statement issued by aging editors looking to make their declining years easier. It is not possible comfort for middle-aged bones but devotion to principle that urges us to acclaim a campaign that is taking place in New York City, but whose implications extend far beyond the metropolis.

Shortly before Easter the city's amazing subway system, which carries three million passengers daily, blossomed out with posters depicting a young man dressed in conventional attire save for a plumed helmet, which he is doffing to an elderly lady and a mother with child in arms as he rises to offer them the two subway seats he had been monopolizing. The caption on the poster reads: "Be a Knight for a Day—Restore Courtesy." It's not clear why young males of New York are urged to be knightly and courteous just for a day, but at any rate the campaign wins our support and we commend it for emulation—even by those who are not blessed with the cozy togetherness of subway transportation.

Whether or not women have been asking for the kind of equal treatment they get these days is really not the point—"if they want to compete with men, then let them fight for a seat on the subway or the bus." They may indeed have been asking for this dubious privilege, but there is no reason why men should bemean themselves by granting it. There is less reason why parents should tolerate and even encourage the thoughtlessness and lack of respect teen-agers show in remaining seated while elderly people stand.

With the world falling apart at the seams, it may seem benighted to cheer a campaign aimed at restoring knightly courtesy. But perhaps courtesy—beginning in these simple ways—may be a means of stitching up the seams. It certainly will if we look on it as Hilaire Belloc did in his lovely poem which begins: "Of courtesy, it is much less/ Than courage of heart or holiness,/ Yet in my walks it seems to me/ That the grace of God is in courtesy."

Japan Reaches Toward Red China

Arthur Perry Crockett

THE RESUMPTION of large-scale trading between Japan and Communist China is a topic the Japanese discuss a great deal these days. The coming months will probably see an increase in the demand for some sort of compromise in the present deadlock between the two countries. For once, SOHYO (the giant labor federation which claims about four million members) and Japanese industrialists appear to be in agreement—but for different reasons.

The leaders of SOHYO are far out on the left wing and they view the resumption of diplomatic and trade relations with China as a means of strengthening the movement's ties with international socialism. Industrialists, on the other hand, have no wish to foster left-wing activities in Japan, but they cannot help being attracted by the bait of "600 million new customers" which Peiping dangles before them.

A large section of the Japanese public is by no means adverse to the restoration of relations with China. Many people would like to see an end to their country's artificial isolation from the Chinese mainland. Some are apprehensive about China's growing military and economic strength, while others admire the resolution with which China, once the whipping boy of the Western powers, has built itself up into a powerful nation.

The Japanese press and intellectual reviews tend to soft-pedal the more repulsive aspects of the new order in China and view the mainland regime in a favorable light. When Chinese foreign policy becomes embarrassingly crude, a discreet silence is often observed.

The invasion of Tibet and the flight of the Dalai Lama aroused comparatively little interest in Japan. One writer, Kiyoaki Murata, in an article in the *Japan Times* (May 27, 1959) tried to give his foreign readers some explanation of the apparent Japanese apathy toward the Tibetan crisis. He listed various reasons: the remoteness of Tibet, its weak religious ties with Japan and the lack of any firsthand news. But he reserved the most important point to the end, when he wrote: "One may point out another factor—a somewhat artificial one—for the lukewarm interest in the Tibetan revolt; news about it is boycotted and played down by the subeditors of the Japanese press, who may be favorably disposed toward Communist China."

The writer here lays his finger on the real explanation, and incidentally gives a salutary reminder of the power

of the modern press. The Japanese have had no direct experience of communism, and what they read about it in their papers is generally favorable. Hence the eagerness of many Japanese to establish closer contacts with their neighbors on the mainland.

THE CHINESE have made it clear that they will not sign any trade agreement until the Japanese government formally recognizes the Peiping regime. This condition puts Premier Ikeda in a dilemma. On the one hand there is certainly a widespread desire to trade with China; on the other hand, Japanese political and economic links with the United States are so strong that Mr. Ikeda cannot afford to incur the displeasure of Washington by recognizing Peiping.

In a press conference on January 28, the Premier stated that he wished "to restore normal relations with our neighboring country as much as possible," but explained that he was forced to adopt a wait-and-see policy on this matter because Japan was not strong enough to take a lone lead. He added that he would not take up the question of recognition until Red China was admitted into the United Nations.

This last remark may explain some of the enthusiasm with which the result of the U.S. Presidential election was received. Many Japanese felt, rightly or wrongly, that Mr. Nixon would continue President Eisenhower's intransigent stand against Red China's entry into the United Nations; they hoped that a completely new Administration in Washington might modify this policy. Adlai Stevenson's warning about the inevitability of the eventual admission of China did not go unnoticed in Japan. Although the recent nomination of Dr. Edwin Reischauer as American Ambassador to Japan has been met with criticism in some circles, there are many who believe that this distinguished Orientalist's wide knowledge of Japanese economic problems will make him sympathetic toward Japan's desire to trade with mainland China.

What are these problems? At first sight, everything in the Japanese garden is lovely. The casual tourist finds Tokyo a modern bustling city; its fashionable shops are crammed with high-quality goods and its winding streets are jammed with traffic. With much justification, the Japanese Premier can borrow a phrase from his British counterpart and tell the people that they have never had it so good. Mr. Ikeda promised last year to double the national income within the next ten years. If the present expansion of Japanese industry continues, his election promise may well be fulfilled.

Sent from England, where ARTHUR PERRY CROCKETT (a pseudonym) is on leave from his duties in Japan, this article explores a new trend in the Orient.

Since 1955 Japan has led the world in shipbuilding. Last year its shipyards launched 1,731,656 tons—almost 21 per cent of the total world production. Japanese factories are exporting their products all over the world. Some Japanese manufacturers, especially in the radio industry, are now ruefully finding other countries copying their designs.

Although it is easy to be overoptimistic about Japan's present economic situation, let us take a closer look to see why Japan must expand her foreign markets, not only to raise but even to maintain the present standard of living. At the root of the country's economic difficulties lies the population problem. Try to imagine half the population of the United States crowded into the State of Montana and you may get some idea of the situation in Japan. "Some idea," because the situation is even more acute than this illustration would suggest. Since 80 per cent of its land area is non-arable, Japan has only 15 million acres under cultivation against Montana's 32 million acres. And these 15 million acres have to support a population of over 90 million people.

As a result of the postwar "baby boom," there was an annual population increase of well over a million in the period 1947-54. This means that the working force will increase by about 12 million within the next ten years. It is generally reckoned that industry can absorb only half a million extra workers every year. There is certainly no room for more hands in the farming communities, which make up 38 per cent of the total population: in fact, Premier Ikeda wishes to reduce this unwieldy proportion to the more economic level of 12 per cent.

Wages vary enormously in different industries and in different places. In general, large concerns can (though they do not always) pay adequate wages with two annual bonuses and other benefits. But millions of Japanese are employed on one-acre farm holdings or in back-yard sheds, which do cheap subcontract work for larger concerns. Often a family works together as a unit and considers itself lucky if the combined earnings bring in enough to provide food and shelter—and precious little else. Statistics issued in 1959 showed that five million workers earn only from \$20 to \$25 a month.

The token strike of some Tokyo doctors and nurses last year brought attention to the low salaries of some professional classes. According to a report in one of the leading newspapers, young doctors start work at state hospitals at a salary of only \$43 a month; after ten years' service this rises to \$140 a month. A fully trained nurse in a state hospital receives \$28 a month, while in small private hospitals a nurse's wage may be as low as \$14 monthly.



The cost of living, of course, is far lower in Japan than in the United States, but it is still difficult to see how Japanese families in the lower wage bracket manage to make ends meet.

Fortunately the harvests of the past few years have been good—in marked contrast to the crops in China, where bad weather is adduced as an explanation for the present food crisis. As a good-will gesture, Japan recently offered some of its surplus rice crop to help alleviate hardship in China. Equally fortunate for Japan is the relatively buoyant state of the world markets, which enables the country to maintain a high rate of exports to pay for the import of food and raw materials.

Yet a serious recession in world trade, coupled with two or three poor harvests, would cause untold hardship in Japan and make a mockery of the Premier's plans to double the national income.

Seen against this background, Japanese eagerness to expand overseas markets by signing a commercial treaty with China may be better appreciated, although not necessarily commended. The slogan, "600 million new customers," is much quoted, but few are naive enough to take it at face value. Nobody in his senses—least of all a hard-headed businessman—seriously believes that Peking would ever throw open the country to Japanese exporters and allow them to trade to their heart's content with China's 600 million citizens.

Other Asian countries which have concluded trade pacts with China have learned to their cost that Peking enters into commercial agreements for political, rather than economic, reasons. Yet many Japanese industrialists appear willing to take the risk. They argue that Japan cannot afford to let slip any chance of expanding its foreign markets, whatever the political setup of its potential customers.

What would be the result of recognition of the Peking regime by Japan? Communist China would gain in prestige. The leftist cause in Japan itself would receive a fillip, for a trade agreement would probably be accompanied by cultural and other exchanges between the two countries. Japanese relations with South Korea, which have noticeably improved since Syngman Rhee disappeared from the political scene, would suffer a setback. There might be some quiet satisfaction in Japan, where the government is often criticized for depending too much on the United States.

If Japan recognized Red China, what would be the Japanese position vis-à-vis the government in Formosa? With a typically Japanese spirit of compromise, some commentators advocate the recognition of Formosa and mainland China as two separate countries—a policy which is hardly designed to please either the Nationalists or the Communists. Thus Mr. Ikeda is obliged to adopt his wait-and-see policy: If Communist China should replace Nationalist China in the United Nations, Japan would presumably feel justified in transferring its diplomatic recognition from Formosa to the mainland. In the unlikely event that both Nationalist and Communist China were represented in New York, Japan no doubt would try to follow suit by attempting to extend recognition to both regimes.

It appears, then, that if and when mainland China is admitted to the UN, Japan and other countries will make a move to recognize the Peking government and conclude a commercial treaty. Conceivably Peking might overplay its hand and demand too high a price for such an agreement; possibly it might insist on the scrapping of the U.S.-Japan security pact as a condition for large-scale trading. This would be asking too much

and would bring Japanese hopes of a commercial deal to an end.

With Japanese political life still lacking a certain basic stability, closer ties between Japan and Communist China would do the cause of the free world no good. The facts must be faced, however, and the possibility that Japan might eventually extend diplomatic recognition to Communist China cannot be ignored.

An Overlooked Weapon

Steve Allen

THE CONFLICT between the West and the Communist states has become chiefly a struggle for the minds of men, not only in the sense of a bilateral debate, but also in regard to the uncommitted nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

A great deal, perhaps most, of American anti-Communist energy is presently being dissipated in efforts that run from the irrelevant to the absurd and the immoral, efforts that chiefly involve stanch anti-Communists getting together in meeting halls and holding contests to discover which among them can make the most beastly statements about the Communists.

The American people have been powerfully indoctrinated since 1917 by the churches, the newspapers, radio (and now TV) as to the evils and dangers of communism. If they are not convinced of these evils and dangers by now, they never will be. But to state the problem in these terms is to beg the question. The fact is that all American citizens who are going to have an intelligent opinion on this matter already fully understand that, although a nuclear war would be the ultimate absurdity, nevertheless communism is *the* enemy, that as a philosophy it is locked in desperate opposition with our own, and that as international political and military practice its aggressive advances constitute a danger to what is called the free world.

Americans, in short, have heard anti-Communist propaganda till it is literally coming out of their ears, and that is certainly not the direction in which it ought to be running. It would seem the part of wisdom to direct our propaganda efforts now, so far as we are physically able, toward 1) people of the uncommitted nations and 2) those who live behind the Iron Curtain. To a certain extent, of course, we are already doing this, but evidently our actions leave a great deal to be desired. Recommendations such as those recently made by Mme. Suzanne Labin are being heard on all sides.

MR. ALLEN, well-known TV personality, author, lyricist and motion-picture star, returns to AMERICA with a proposal that may start some fresh trends in the operation of the United States Information Agency.

What they call for is a *world-wide* propaganda effort.

The West, it is now clear, has failed to package and sell the idea of a free society. Most of our arguments have consisted of negative criticism, not positive alternative suggestions. Because so many of us think of communism in demonological terms, our anticommunism frequently consists largely of nuggets of truth wrapped in layers of invective, distortion and hypocrisy. Some of us have become so victimized by our emotions that we regard the commandment "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" as subversive. We overlook the fact that communism does offer immediate *economic* solutions to some of the impoverished nations' economic ills. As a result, we spend time name-calling when what we should be doing is offering alternatives suitable to specific local circumstances, while at the same time issuing intelligent warnings of the cost in human freedoms that may be expected from an uncritical acceptance of Communist recipes.

It is a paradox that the United States (which has developed the art of what I will call—for want of a better word—salesmanship to a point where the phrase "Madison Avenue" is known, for better or worse, all over the globe) has apparently done little or nothing about employing this powerful weapon in the national interest. Surely, if we can sell power lawn mowers, tailfins, and hi-fi sets to people who do not need them, we can sell freedom to people who do need it.

I DO NOT SUGGEST that the United States cease any of its present overseas propaganda activities, but I am recommending the addition of one form of propaganda that so far would seem to have been largely overlooked.

Our political leaders, UN representatives, military men, diplomats and professional propagandists are all being heard. Still, something is lacking. Why do we not turn to those Americans who already stand in the good graces of millions of people in foreign lands: our internationally famed figures of the entertainment world?

Those with a lack of imagination may at first recoil at such an idea. "What?" they will say, "Entrust the

delivery of an important political message to Marlon Brando rather than to General Norstad?"

I say Yes, and the sooner the better. Let our diplomats, military leaders and others continue, of course, with their present activities; good luck to them. But not many of them are really regarded as close friends of the common people the world over, whereas Gary Cooper and Benny Goodman are.

Obviously, neither Mr. Goodman nor Mr. Cooper knows a great deal about political matters. But each of these gentlemen is able to speak, to read and to learn. In an age when even our Presidents, Popes and Kings have ghost writers, is it really a radical suggestion that Danny Kaye and Harry Belafonte might avail themselves of the same sort of service?

Since I have never heard the programs our paid propagandists are presently beaming into various parts of the world, I am obviously not in a position to offer a critique of this radio fare. But as one familiar and experienced with radio and television production, I am qualified to suggest, as an example, the sort of program that would be effective. At present we attempt to pull listeners into the store with, for instance, a record by Bing Crosby and then follow this with a pitch by an unknown announcer.

Would it not be much better to have the Bing Crosby vocal followed by a brief speech by Bing himself, a speech which would embody the same ideas currently being disseminated by unknown voices?

But, you say, Bing Crosby cannot speak French, Spanish or Russian.

No, but he can *read*, and scripts can be written phonetically. Several years ago, to promote a motion picture in which I appeared (*The Benny Goodman Story*), I recorded interviews in Spanish and Portuguese. I had only the most general idea of what I was saying, but I am sure that my message was meaningful to those who understood Spanish and Portuguese.

The domestic policies of our nation, and the acts resulting from them—particularly in the area of race relations—will inevitably have a profound influence upon our ability to appeal to the minds of the teeming millions in Africa, Asia and Central and South America. At present we are preaching a good case but suffering greatly because of incidents such as those of Little Rock.

Harry Belafonte, Nat Cole or Marian Anderson, broadcasting on a world-wide basis, could—without for one moment denying the reality of the ugly part of the American race picture—affirm the constructive side of that picture. They could, for example, point out that while progress is slow, it is nevertheless taking place and that the condition of the Negro today is a vast improvement over what it was twenty-five or fifty years ago. They could explain that while there are white neighborhoods in the United States where a Negro is not permitted to reside, there are others in which he can make his home. They could explain that they themselves have become wealthy because there was an opportunity for them to develop their talents and a market in which to dispose of them, and that their white fans outnumber their Negro admirers. They could

point out that what happens in some areas of the South is not representative of the over-all United States approach to racial problems. Such broadcasts would do much to counteract Communist propaganda about poll taxes, lynchings, beatings and segregation. (We ought not to forget, of course, that the best way to counteract such propaganda is to do away with the poll tax, stop lynchings and end segregation. But meantime. . .)

There are millions of people the world over who will never know that Dean Rusk is our Secretary of State—but who are great fans of Cary Grant. I ask: to whom would they be more apt to listen, Mr. Rusk or Mr. Grant? Furthermore, Mr. Grant's remarks could be phrased in simple and concrete rather than in abstract, striped-pants diplomatic language. His propaganda announcements ought not to be blatantly hard-hitting or complicated, and above all not bitterly, hysterically anti-Communist. Rather they ought to include dignified and low-pressured praise for the American way of life, for freedom and democracy in general; they ought to emphasize the numerous obvious blessings of the free-enterprise system while frankly admitting its few inadequacies. They ought, to be sure, to include references to the evils of communism, but such references should be phrased dispassionately and sensibly.

A Frank Sinatra screaming that Khrushchev is "a bloody butcher," "a fat Communist pig" or any of the other epithets typical of the all-too-common apoplectic sort of anti-Communist contumely would be out of character and ineffectual. But stating the case for the West calmly, vigorously and constructively, he might be able to make more friends for us than half a dozen missile bases.

I should be glad to offer my services to assist in the organization of a full-scale effort of this sort, were it to prove attractive to President Kennedy, Radio Free Europe, Mr. Murrow's USIA, the State Department or any other branch of our government.

* * *

AND ALWAYS INNOCENCE

Lying cream-skinned, with His lamb cover
over you, child, ten minutes ago
touched by God into sainthood,

sleeping, with the gift of His breath stir-
ring in you, unmarred yet by an earth
unknown, neither bad nor good,

will you look beyond what you must see
and hear after innocent years: dread,
the black beast behind the bush

budded white? Or, will you always see,
still immaculate, One silently
saying: Hear now heaven's hush?

Lying cream-skinned, with His lamb cover
over you, with your own small child curled,
open eyes beyond this world.

JOSEPH JOEL KEITH

National Library Week—For All?

Harold C. Gardiner

THE FOURTH ANNUAL National Library Week will be celebrated from April 16 to 22. Since its inception in 1958 this "citizens' movement" has had as its purpose "to encourage lifetime reading habits of all kinds by everyone" so as to develop "a better-read, better-informed America." The Week is sponsored by the National Book Committee, Inc., in co-operation with the American Library Association and "with the active participation of more than 50 national organizations of all kinds." (Among these organizations are the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Councils of Catholic Men, of Catholic Women, of Catholic Youth, the Newman Club Foundation and the Catholic Library Association.)

Last year, more than 5,000 communities, rural and urban, took part in NLW and went on from that period of concentrated attention to plan long-range, continuing programs designed to attract wide attention to library services, to foster reading activities in homes, schools and clubs, and to inspire more people to more thoughtful reading. These local activities were backed up by widespread publicity throughout the week in all communications media—the press, radio and TV. It is estimated, for instance, that last year "more than 40 major publications, with an estimated circulation of over 110 million, featured a wide variety of Library Week themes."

This annual observance is without doubt admirable, and we are all in favor of the theme for 1961: "For a richer, fuller life—read!" Our endorsement of this particular week is all the more heartfelt because the attention focused on books and libraries at this time serves to underline to some extent what this Review does 52 weeks in the year: bring good books to the attention of those desirous of deepening their cultural and spiritual life.

It may seem slightly invidious, accordingly, while praising the means and goals of National Library Week, to call attention to a situation that clamors for public realization and action. It is not to be construed from what follows that there is the slightest intention of leveling an accusing finger at National Library Week for the existence of this situation. There is, however, a suspicion that the American Library Association, which might do most to remedy the state of affairs, has been less than pace-setting in working toward a

solution. The other organizations (especially the Catholic ones) that collaborate in NLW observance might care to ponder whether future co-operation should be made contingent on a policy statement by the National Book Committee before plans are laid for next year's observance.

And what is the problem? It is this: there are millions of U.S. citizens from whom the slogan "for a richer, fuller life—read!" can draw only a cynical "oh, yeah?" And I don't mean citizens who have simply never heard or realized that books are important. I mean citizens who do think that books are a means—one of the chief means—to achieve a richer and fuller life. And can it be that citizens who feel that way about books cannot get the books to help them develop that kind of life?

Let us take a look at our 13 Southern States. The problem of school integration in those States is so much to the fore, underscored right now by the situation in New Orleans, that most U.S. citizens do not know that public libraries in the South are to a great extent still segregated. Every now and again, a small item finds its way into the press. Take, for example, the incident in Danville, Va. that the N.Y. *Times* reported to the extent of three inches on May 27, 1960. In that town, the public library was closed on May 20, 1960 rather than knuckle under to a court order to admit Negroes. The library was reopened on September 12, but on a "stand-up" basis: Negroes and whites could withdraw books, but could not sit down to read in the library. But even this "vertical integration" was a giant step forward in comparison with the situation in other Southern localities.

The only serious recent attention to be given to the problem of the Southern Negro and public-library segregation, as far as I can find out, appeared in an article in the December 15, 1960 issue of *Library Journal*, a medium which, by its very nature, could bring the problem to the notice of only a small segment of citizens. An editorial (pp. 4436-37), "The Silent Subject," states: "We had to delve back as far as 1955 [in the cumulative index, *Library Literature*] before we discovered any treatment of the subject in any American library periodical." (An editorial in *AMERICA*, however, "The Public Library and Pigmentation" [2/14/59, p. 566], is mentioned.) The 1955 reference is to an editorial in *Junior Libraries*, "No Segregation Here," which revealed that "two-thirds of the Negro population of the 13 Southern States were entirely without library services in 1953." (The Negro popula-

FR. GARDINER, S.J., veteran *Literary Editor* of *AMERICA*, here shows that many of the nation's public libraries are still open to "whites only."

tion in those States in 1950 was, according to U.S. Census figures, 9,860,167.)

But has nothing improved since 1953? Apparently, not nearly enough. Rice Estes, librarian of the Pratt Institute Library, Brooklyn, N.Y., writing in the same (December 15) *Library Journal* (pp. 4418-21), states: "Most librarians are unaware of the fact that most public libraries below the Mason and Dixon line are segregated," and that, as a result, "nearly ten million Negro citizens of our land are totally or partially denied access to publicly owned books." This comes about because:

In the majority of towns and cities [in the 13 States] the Negro readers are not only denied entrance to white branches, they are also denied entrance to the main central library where most of the books are housed. Thus they are not only confined to a small branch or branches of their own, but are deprived of access to the principal book collection of the locality. Although some are permitted to browse through interbranch loan, most Negro readers are never allowed to browse through the primary collections and never know the existence of many books which their taxes help to buy and which are freely used by white citizens.

Mr. Estes admits further in his article that he does not know precisely which public libraries in the South are segregated and which are not, but he apparently has no hesitation in stating the situation in these amazing and embarrassing figures. It seems that no one knows the exact dimensions of the problem today, for the only thorough survey I have been able to find appeared in 1941, *The Southern Negro and the Public Library*, by Eliza Atkins Gleason (University of Chicago). If we compare the Gleason statistics with the estimates of Mr. Estes, it seems that small progress has been made in the 20 intervening years. Mrs. Gleason's conclusions—based on her rather comprehensive tables and charts—appear on page 108:

Of the 8,805,653 Negroes in the 13 Southern States in 1930, only 1.8 million receive public-library service, which is provided by 99 of the 744 public libraries in the South.

The percentage of Negro population served by the public libraries has steadily increased since 1926; however, the percentage of white population with library service is still twice as great—42.73 per cent to 21.39.

Over six million Negroes are without public library service in the 13 States—two million of these live in areas where public-library service is provided for whites but none for Negroes. [The 13 States that compose "the South" in this survey are: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.]

It becomes clear, then, that Mr. Estes is engaging in something of an exaggeration when he charges that "nearly ten million Negro citizens in our land are totally or partially denied access to publicly owned

books." There are, to be sure, just over ten million Negroes in the 13 Southern States today (10,231,394, by 1960 U.S. Census figures), but the total number of libraries (including central libraries, branches and subbranches) in the same States had risen, according to the 1950 U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures, to 1,913.

HENCE IT may be assumed that the doubling of the number of libraries since 1941 resulted, if not in precisely a parallel doubling of service to Negroes, then at least in some improvement. Even so, it remains a most probable and distressing conclusion that somewhere around four to five million Negroes simply don't have the opportunity to enrich their lives through reading available in public libraries. This is certainly a small advance over Mrs. Gleason's six million so deprived in 1941.

The question will certainly pop into the reader's head: don't these Negroes have public libraries maintained by State or local authorities for their own use? Statistics are not available for the current state of affairs, but when Mrs. Gleason compiled her lists, there were exactly 12 independent Negro libraries in the whole South, ten municipal and two county. It was the fact then, and very likely is now, that these libraries, struggling with few trained personnel and inadequate budgets, were certainly separate, but by no stretch of the imagination equal.

Six years after the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court calling for integration in public education, scant public attention has been paid to the integration of the public libraries. What little attention they received has been confined to some in-fighting in professional librarians' associations and journals. Mr. Estes, for instance, directs his shafts against the American Library Association:

So far no library association seems willing to do anything about [this] most pressing problem . . . The Intellectual Freedom Committee of the ALA will protest the banning of a single book, but when a city takes away the right of citizens to read every book in the library . . . the problem has suddenly become "local," a very good alternative for "untouchable" (p. 4418).

The editorial in the *Library Journal*, referred to above, controverts an editorial in the *Wilson Library Bulletin* (September, 1960, pp. 63-4) for approving a statement by the American Library Association that "the ALA has been as effective against segregation as its structure permits." Admitting willingly that the ALA is admirably desegregated at its annual conventions, the *Library Journal* suggests, in the words of Mr. Estes, that the ALA, in the name of its Intellectual Freedom Committee, could at least address letters "from Northern library associations to trustees of larger Southern libraries and officers of State organizations to find out where libraries are integrated and where they are not."

The whole trend of Mr. Estes' argument was to the effect that it was high time for the ALA to adopt a forthright stand against segregation, not merely with

regard to its own regional or national conventions, but with respect to the operations of public libraries wherever they exist.

It is probably due directly to Mr. Estes' crusading spirit that the ALA, meeting in Chicago January 29-February 3, 1961, adopted by a 200 to 1 vote a statement that "the rights of an individual to the use of a library should not be denied or abridged because of his race, religion, national origins or political views." The one dissenting voter demurred on the grounds that the statement "was about as ambiguous as could have been proposed." The *Library Journal* (March 1, p. 955), commenting on the ALA move, says: "The question of integration presumably now comes within the purview of the Intellectual Freedom Committee."

This phrase seems to suggest some doubt that the resolution will have any practical results. Certainly the mere adoption by the ALA is not automatically going to open public-library doors to Southern Negroes.

The National Book Committee, which conducts National Book Week, has no direct influence on the policies of public libraries. But it is nevertheless a fact that the growing prestige of the annual observance is such that a clear statement against segregation would go far to make Southern library systems reconsider the self-defeating and undemocratic state of affairs under which too many of them operate. Might it also be in order to suggest that the Catholic organizations that participate in National Library Week take the lead in making next year's observance truly a national affair—for all?

The problems which have arisen between Canada and the United States are not insoluble. Their solution, however, will require a reorientation of U.S. policy.

U.S.-Canadian Relations

HOW SERIOUS is the decline of U.S.-Canadian relations? Let the words in a recent editorial of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* tell the story. It is a newspaper of wide impact and not given to the sensational.

No wonder there is talk of neutralism in Canada, of retreat from existing commitments. If such talk disturbs Washington, let Washington understand the essential reason for it. Why do some Canadians want out of Norad [North American Air Defense Command], out of Nato? Because Canada, an industrial nation, has never been fully in them, because she has never been allowed fully in them, and because the arms lobby in Washington wants to keep it that way.

This was strong comment, especially since it came just before the meeting of Canada's Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and U.S. President John F. Kennedy, but it is, unfortunately, justifiable comment. These are the words of an angry Canada—a Canada once overwhelmingly friendly to the United States but now counting the cost.

Two years ago, Canada was testing the Avro Arrow, a jet interceptor of remarkable efficiency. Blocked from selling it to either Norad or Nato, the Canadian manufacturers were forced to abandon the project. The test models were destroyed, and 12,000 men were thrown

out of work. A deliberate brush-off by the United States had caused the whole thing, and it has not been forgotten.

If rapprochement is actually desired, much will depend on the attitude which the new Administration in Washington adopts toward Canada. Now is the time for Americans to take a new and long look at their northern neighbor. In so doing, it would be prudent for them to discard any preconceived notion that Canada is a sort of poor relation, one easily appeased by the granting of small favors or rights, while the major ones are conveniently ignored or (as has so often happened) treated with an amused contempt. There is no surer way of provoking a collision than this.

Americans should take this salient factor into consideration: the United States has far greater need of Canada than Canada has of the United States. This is especially true with regard to natural resources, in which the United States is relatively poor and Canada incredibly rich. There is another important factor which should not be ignored. Canada is at present the best customer the United States has for its products. This fact is often conveniently forgotten.

There is much critical discussion now in Canada about the impact of heavy American capital investment in Canadian industry and in Canada's natural resources. American investors might reflect that their investments imply certain obligations.

In the recent meeting of the Canadian-American Committee on the Policies and Practices of U.S. Subsidiaries in Canada, six prime causes for irritation were discussed. Canada's case was presented for the sale of

MR. McAULIFFE, whose keen interest in international relations provokes this article, is a staff correspondent for the *Peterborough Examiner* and makes his home in Cobourg, Ontario.

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equity shares to Canadians; Canadianization of personnel, especially of management; commercial policies in sales; purchasing and processing in Canada; research; and contributions to education and charity. It may be hard to understand, but there have been cases where American subsidiaries have refused to contribute to Canadian Red Feather campaigns.

Two of the most damaging impacts on the Canadian economy caused by American investment are: 1) many parent companies refuse to allow their Canadian subsidiaries to compete in the world markets; 2) American investment militates against the processing of Canadian raw materials in Canada. These deterrents occur at a time when, as a February 16, 1961 report informs us, 10.2 per cent of Canada's working force is unemployed. The solution of these problems may require some sacrifice of U.S. ambition.

More recently, another sphere of American competition has come to the fore and is now under examination. This is in the field of publications. In its recent hearings in Ottawa, the Royal Commission on Publications heard complaints that U.S. publishers were, by reason of their larger U.S. circulation, undercutting Canadian advertising rates. Adding insult to injury, they were using the special low Canadian postage rates to do so. Complaints were also made, especially against *Time*, about slanted reporting of Canadian news.

U.S. publishers protested, of course, that any control introduced by Canada would be a violation of the freedom of the press. The American publishers did not expect the stinging rebuke which they received from the commission chairman, M. Grattan O'Leary:

There is no absolute press freedom. There is no absolute freedom, there is no absolute freedom of speech, and for heaven's sake I hope we will hear the end of this, whatever else we may do.

At these hearings a more important and more sinister fact came out into the open: the United States controls Canadian distributing agencies. Not only do these agencies "soft-peddle" Canadian publications by placing them to one side on the stands, leaving the U.S. publications in the main line of vision, but they bring into Canada much that is sordid and demoralizing.

And what of Cuba? When Canada said it would be pleased to do business with that country, criticism of Canada was widespread in the American press, but that press was strangely silent about the many Americans who were continuing to do business with Cuba. Canadian business executives returning from Havana reported that for every Canadian doing business with the Cubans there were one hundred Americans—and this six weeks after the U.S. embargo was imposed.

Canadians reading the reports on Cuba by Patrick O'Donovan of the London *Observer* cannot but compare the extent of U.S. investments in Cuba and in Canada. They are asking themselves: Would the Cuban tragedy have occurred if American investors and American business firms had been more prudent, more interested in the general welfare of Cuba and the Cubans? They question, not unreasonably, whether American investors and American business firms have learned the

error of their ways. If history is any criterion, it is highly probable that they have not. Canadians do not want a similar tragedy to occur in their land.

Canadians are firm believers in both private and public enterprise, but they realize that while self-control of business is more desirable, imposed control becomes imperative when there is a challenge to the economic welfare of the land and its people. Canada, let it be told, wishes to remain independent—powder monkey to none.

BRIAN MC AULIFFE

Second Thoughts

THE FORUM, NOT THE ARENA

ONE'S FIRST, instinctive reaction to the renewal of the Federal-aid-to-education debate, the legislative committee hearings, the lobbying and all the consequent general acrimony is, "Oh, no, not *that* again!"

One should not shrink from the constant contesting of viewpoints in a democratic society. This is infinitely preferable to monolithic life in a no-contest society. But in the aid-to-education struggle, many of the old faces and voices are still around; the arguments are pretty much the same; even the verbal pattern and phrasing are predictable.

What dispels ennui *this* time around is the sobering realization that the American society has not yet achieved any satisfactory balance, any realistic adjustment of opposing viewpoints on the justice and constitutionality of Federal aid for students in nonpublic schools.

What also helps dispel ennui and encourages one to engage with enthusiasm in the present debate is the knowledge that the atmosphere and the climate of American life have changed considerably in the eight or ten years since the Church's last all-out (and conspicuously unsuccessful) effort to have Catholic children in Catholic schools included in the distribution of any Federal aid.

Finally, the fact that some of the participants in the debate tend, over a period of years, to blur the key principles involved means that periodic restatement of the principles might be helpful.

For instance, one of our traditionally "ten best" daily newspapers, liberal and fair-minded, said editorially last month that if Catholic parents choose to send their children to Catholic schools, that is their "privilege," but that they must, therefore, be prepared to pay, without protest, the additional cost of this privilege.

What such parents are exercising, of course, is a "right," not a privilege. The editorial writer's mistake is a fundamental one and carries with it the strong implication that it is the state, not the parents, which has the primary educational responsibility so far as the child is concerned.

I sometimes think that if Catholic spokesmen simply repeated this "argument from rights" often enough at the right places and in the right accents the long struggle for justice would be more than half won within a very few years.

The argument is that, since parents have the primordial responsibility for the education of their children, they have the corresponding right to select the schools for their children; and that, in so exercising this fundamental right, they should not be discriminated against in any program providing Federal aid to education.

The merit of this statement is not that it eliminates all the complexities and difficulties of working out an adequate political expression of a nondiscriminatory Federal aid program. It doesn't do that at all.

What it does do, however, is remind embattled partisans on both sides that the rights of American citizens are involved here and that a serious question of justice must be dealt with in any Federal aid legislation.

For the American Catholic to ground his argument on the basis of rights has its practical advantages also. There is a growing American consensus about the inviolability of rights. Correctly understood, insistence on rights and justice in this context can be just as much a matter of *Realpolitik* as the superficially more impressive, massive power plays, the lobbying and thunderous threats hurled at lawmakers' ears.

Further, I think quiet eloquence is not only as realistic as, but also more persuasive than, abrasive assault and head-on combat.

For the atmosphere *has* changed in the last ten years. If we have learned anything in this decade, it is that more good is accomplished, more constructive work is done, more understanding is spread, more good will is earned and more justice established through firm, courteous, informed and objective participation by Catholics in dialogue with non-Catholic Americans than could ever hope to be "won" in the hard, recriminatory and often mutually destructive battles of so-called militant action. In this, as in other matters of tension, the forum is to be preferred to the arena.

It is in the forum, not the arena, that I heard, three years ago, two noted non-Catholic constitutional authorities declare before a high-powered, pluralistic gathering that American Catholics have a right in justice to a share in Federal aid to education. But they also declared—and here they invoked another principle familiar to Catholic churchmen and moralists—that insistence on this right should be held in suspense for the moment. Sometimes, they said, a lesser evil must be tolerated in order that a greater evil might be avoided. The virtue of prudence is also involved here.

The atmosphere, I say, *has* changed. Americans are less ready now with the automatic rejection of any form of Federal aid to students in private schools. As a matter of current practice, much Federal aid is already going to such students in the form of research grants and scholarships in the sciences, mathematics and medicine.

As a further measure of the distance this country

has traveled in ten years, no one, so far as I know, protested President Kennedy's news-conference distinction between Federal aid to private religious institutions (unconstitutional) and Federal aid to individual students (constitutional).

I, for one, welcome this distinction. I celebrate it. And it has ample precedent, by the way, in the G.I. Bill of Rights. The burden on Catholic parents who send their children to Catholic schools is not unbearable on the elementary school level. It begins to become unbearable and crushing on the high school and college levels. I speak as a father with four children in a parochial school and one in a private Catholic high school.

Justice is, in a sense, divisible. Federal scholarship aid to college students, regardless of their choice of school, establishes a measure of that justice due to American Catholic citizens. It is almost inevitable that a further measure of justice would then be established in the form, perhaps, of tax credits for parents of students in Catholic high schools.

But there will be no justice, and undoubtedly no aid for anyone, if we ignore all the prudential, psychological and political facts of American life and demand that which cannot be legislated. This issue should be a test not of Catholic power but of Catholic poise and maturity.

DONALD McDONALD

* * *

SONG OF THE SOUL

It's something to have carried the soul around,
Or whatever bodies do with souls;
Furnishing equipment for the breath of air
that comes from off this boundless winter field
Of sacrificial grass;
Something to have furnished ways to catch
voices—and, for that matter,
the mechanism they provide for giving
tone to love.
Something to have given hands to scrub, to touch
the essences of marble and of wood,
Or feet to tell the soul what brown earth is.

It isn't only that I cannot stand far off enough
from you to carry on debate;
I could not argue with so good a friend who, in a way,
taught pain and peace and exultation;
Glad that like Job it's in my flesh I'll see what I
have learned to long for—
partly through the eyes that catch the hills,
the ear that with such harmony quite fills,
the catching at the throat when incense stills
so much of me.
Not just the hands that held the charcoal in More's
tower
Helping to give to all of us his hour,
My own hands too I love, that have worn earth
And all the mystery that came with birth.

SISTER MARY FAITH, O.S.B.

America • APRIL 15, 1961

BOOKS

Historians Reassess Our "Tragic Years"

"We didn't lose the War; we just wore ourselves out licking the Yankees!" I remember hearing the Governor of Louisiana say this, only mock-seriously, when introducing General Eisenhower to a Southern audience. This theme, with variations, has brightened many a banquet, especially during the Civil War centennial. While volume after volume has scrutinized every facet of the tragic struggle, one brandishes a blunt title, *Why The North Won the Civil War* (Louisiana State U. Press. 128p. \$2.95), and includes five careful studies by eminent specialists. Each interpreter gives a different stress.

T. Harry Williams finds that much of the credit for the war's outcome must go to Lincoln's astuteness even as a military leader. As Commander-in-Chief, Lincoln might have hamstrung his generals, as indeed Jefferson Davis did. Had Lee received the same co-operation that Grant and other Union generals got, the war could have been a Southern victory. David M. Potter puts the blame squarely on Davis, who, while capable and intelligent, was not



equipped to lead a revolution. He had "no instinct for the jugular."

Northern economic power is re-examined by Richard N. Current and found to be ultimately the answer. "This vast productive ability made the Union armies the best fed, the best clothed, the best cared for that the world ever had seen." Norman A. Graebner finds the solution in terms of diplomacy. While Europe in general sympathized with the South, it had "no inexpensive means available" to help the South's struggle for independence. *Realpolitik* won out.

"Died of Democracy" should be written on the tombstone of the Confederacy, concludes David Donald. Southern individualism, unwilling to brook the disciplines called for in modern war, brought its own destruction.

Except on the issue of slavery, "the Confederacy, not the Union, represented the democratic forces in American life."

For example, at the time when Lincoln silenced over 300 critical newspapers, Davis silenced none. Even in the most desperate crises, the South hardly ever invoked martial law. Making almost a fetish of the right to vote, Southerners continued to elect their officers. Finally, the South was disastrously inefficient in its handling of manpower. Irony of ironies, by 1865 the Union army included 178,895 Negroes—"roughly five times the number of men in Lee's army when he surrendered."

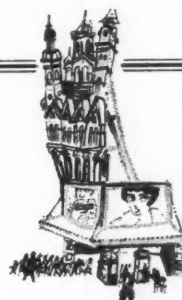
Poet's View of the Results

Another brief and eminently readable interpretation comes from a writer of rare gifts, who can reconcile sound research with a poet's insights. Robert Penn Warren offers what are called "Meditations on the Centennial" in his *Legacy of the Civil War* (Random House. 109p. \$2.75). A précis of this moving work appeared in *Life* magazine for March 17, and one may hope that all 6,726,796 copies of the issue were carefully read. However, a précis is no more than that, some of Warren's finest perceptions being found only in the ungilded book.

Apropos of a certain "Yankee Pharisaism," Warren asks a probing question that needs asking even today: "Who can fail to be disturbed and chastened by the picture of the joyful mustering of the darker forces of our nature in that just cause?" Then as now, many a Southerner could "feel a little less lonely in his guilt about slavery. He may feel that he is stuck with some guilt. But he would certainly enjoy the inestimable privilege of being able to call the kettle black."

Warren reminds us, too, of our post-Civil War homogenized society, its "communication without communion" and "the ad-man's nauseating surrogate for family sense and community in the word *togetherness*." He wonders whether it is "possible for the individual, in the great modern industrial state, to retain some sense of responsibility," and whether, "in the midst of all the forces making for standardization and anonymity," society can "avoid cultural starvation." For, while the war did reassert our unity, did it not cost much

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in "cultural pluralism and individual variety?"

A third type of book that should interest nonspecialists is available in an anthology by Paul M. Angle and Earl Schenck Miers, both eminent historians. It is *Tragic Years, 1860-1865* (Simon & Schuster, 1097p. \$15). Quotations from little-known diaries, letters and recorded words, public and private, give a sort of stereo projection of the great American tragedy. The burning of Atlanta, for instance, is told by several witnesses. Little ten-year-old Carrie M. Berry's diary entry for "Wed. Nov. 16, 1864" reads:

Oh what a night we had. They came burning the store house and about night it looked like the whole town was on fire. They behaved very badly. They all left the town about one o'clock this evening and we were glad when they left for no body knows what we suffered since they came in.

Writing with another focus, Gen. W. P. Howard tells how part of Atlanta was saved, including Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Catholic churches, "all attributable to Father O'Riley." This is an early instance of interfaith co-operation.

An Angry View

The centennial has occasioned hundreds of books by "buffs"—telling of some favorite or local facet of the war. In a class apart is an "angry" book, *The Hidden Face of the Civil War*, by Otto Eisenschiml (Bobbs Merrill, 319p. \$5). The author warns that the book may cause shock and asks that readers "shed all preconceived opinions." We are asked to accept, for example, a new classification of generals which awards four stars to Nathan B. Forrest and only one to Robert E. Lee and U. S. Grant. The "debunking" school of historiography has its place, even when it exasperates. But, willing as we are to shed prejudice, we can hardly be expected to shed all previous reading.

C. J. McNASPY

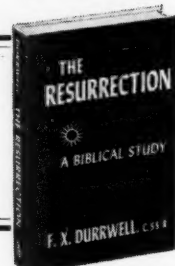
Harpers Ferry, Prize of War, by Manly Wade Wellman (McNally of Charlotte, 183p. \$3.50).

The story of a town that played a large role in our history, died and became a sort of national monument.

Storming of the Gateway, by Fairfax Downey (McKay, 300p. \$5.50).

The story of the "Battle Above the Clouds," this well-documented volume thoroughly treats the war around Chattanooga in 1863. Maps, lists of ordnance

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and even poems make this an exhaustive work for Civil War "buffs."

Matthew Fontaine Maury and Joseph Henry, Scientists of the Civil War, by Patricia Jahns (Hastings House. 308p. \$5.95).

The life stories of two scientists, on both sides; Maury was the first oceanographer, Henry a pioneer in meteorology.

The Civil War at Sea, by Virgil Carington Jones, Vol. I, *The Blockaders* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 482p. \$6).

This volume covers the period up to March, 1862, the first engagement of the *Merrimack* and the *Monitor*. It is scholarly and well illustrated.

Inferno at Petersburg, by Henry Pleasants Jr. and George H. Straley (Chilton. 181p. \$3.95).

In 1864, during a stalemate in Virginia, a young civil engineer succeeded in tunneling under the Confederate line and inaugurated a new type of warfare.

Stonewall Jackson, by G. F. R. Henderson (Longmans, Green. 718p. \$8.95).

This is one of the classics on the Civil War. Long respected for its scholarship and appreciated for its dramatic style, this 60-year-old study is now reissued with new maps in a centennial edition.

The Indian War of 1864, by Eugene F. Ware (St. Martin's. 483p. \$7.50).

This is another valuable reissue, unique in that it treats one little known aspect of the Civil War—the job of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry to keep open the overland trail during the war. Written many years after the events it dramatically recounts and first published 50 years ago, it is a superb account not only of the Indian raids but also of the often boring camp life of the troopers.

Europe Looks at the Civil War, edited by Belle Becker Sideman and Lillian Friedman. (Orion. 323p. \$6).

An interesting collection of items from the newspapers of Europe, from the dispatches and correspondence of European viewers of the conflict. Some of the opinions are silly (Garibaldi assumes that the North will make him commander-in-chief when he finds time to come over and help), some profound (Karl Marx's analysis of the outcome of the conflict in a letter to Engels), some quite moving (a description of the death of Jeb Stuart by a German aristocrat serving in the Confederate cavalry). A substantial number of European statesmen and intellectuals speak.

Europe of the Heart

THE STORY OF FATHER DOMINIQUE PIRE

As told to Hugues Vehenne. Dutton. 221p. \$4.50

In this absorbing autobiography, Fr. Pire, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1958, says: "I have no time to waste on anticommunism and am bound by no frontiers. I am not 'anti-' anything, but always 'pro-' something—pro-human, in fact."

In 1949 the Belgian priest began his great work of rescuing the "hard core" or "résidu," as the United Nations terms the World War II displaced persons who are ineligible for emigration because of age or infirmities and who are considered hopeless cases by the refugee relief authorities.

Fr. Pire's work in behalf of the 160,000 hard-core cases started with *parrainage*—godfathering—under which individuals established communication with DP's and DP families, and then, through correspondence, gifts at birthdays and Christmas and other manifestations of friendship, restored hope to despairing persons. He commenced the project of European villages for DP's, and today there are six such international communities located near the borders of as many countries—living reminders of the folly of barriers between peoples and of the goal of human unity. Appropriately, the Anne Frank Village—the sixth to be built—is located in Germany.

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parrainage and to build villages for the hard core. His thoughts are often on the "Europe of the Heart," which this common effort of many European nationalities on behalf of the disinherited is helping to create. He says: "The hard core is the iron soul around which the substance of the Europe of the Heart will form."

While this uniquely written book was in preparation, Fr. Pire was already looking beyond Europe in response to other pleas for assistance. Recently his "Heart Open to the World" movement has attracted young people from many countries.

Fr. Pire is a nature lover and an ardent fisherman who now, tied to the wheel of work, can enjoy only in imagination the beauty of the river and the breeze off the water. But his recollections, work and thoughts, as told here in the form of conversations with Hugues Vehenne, suggest a personality at once poetic and practical. He is no dreamy visionary, but a modest, over-worked man with a gay sense of humor, who knows at first hand the perverseness of human nature, and who has, as he puts it, his "black dossiers," as well as his "white dossiers"—his stories of defeat and his stories of victory in the salvaging of human lives.

ELBERT R. SISSON

Behind the Bamboo Curtain

THOUGHT REFORM OF THE CHINESE INTELLECTUALS

By Theodore H. E. Chen. Oxford U. Press. 247p. \$5

THE ANTHILL

By Suzanne Labin. Praeger. 442p. \$6.75

THE ENDLESS HOURS

By Wallace L. Brown. Norton. 253p. \$3.95

THE TEN YEARS OF STORM

By Chow Chen Wen. Holt. 324p. \$6

SECRET DIARY FROM RED CHINA

By S. T. Tung. Bobbs Merrill. 224p. \$3.95

American interest in the Communist power on the Chinese mainland is reflected in the considerable increase in the number of books about the Red colossus. Among the recent publications, the above five are worth-while reading. They are particularly valuable because in each the information gathered came from unique sources.

Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals was written in the United States by Dr. Chen, head of the Department of Asiatic Studies at the University of Southern California. He not only utilized all the source material available in this country, but added his own rich personal experience in China before it fell prey to communism. The book depicts the nature of the Communist revolution and the Reds' attempts at remolding the common man through political indoctrination.

The study stresses particularly the Communists' program for the Chinese intellectuals, with its vicious methods of obtaining "confessions," and instigating "reforms." The various mass movements of thought reform are exposed, as well as the systematic campaigns against non-Communist leaders. The study is both informative and stirring.

The Anthill is translated from the French by Edward Fitzgerald. The author gathered her information during interviews with a cross section of the hordes of refugees who fled from Communist China to the free port of Hong Kong. From teachers and scholars, Mme. Labin learned of the thought control depicted in Dr. Chen's book. Businessmen told her the truth about poor economic conditions on the mainland. Workers and farmers gave her the facts about the collectivized "ant-hill" society. By women she was told of the unhappy "liberated woman" of China.

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a variety of walks of life and from all sections of China, the author concluded that life on the mainland is, at best, distressed, and, at worst, tragic and inhuman. Some of the facts volunteered by the refugees may have been slightly exaggerated because of their antagonism toward Red China, but, on the whole, they give a basically true picture of life in China today, probably the best available until foreigners are again permitted to travel there.

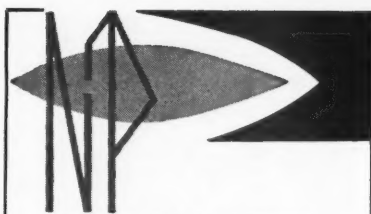
The Endless Hours is by a former captive in Communist China. He was a lieutenant in the U. S. Air Force when, during the Korean War, he was shot down while on a reconnaissance flight. A prisoner for 31 months, he was released in 1955. This vivid story of his ordeal tells of the solitary confinement during which he was allowed only meager food and water. Particularly interesting is his account of the methods of Communist interrogation. He was continuously questioned, one session lasting for six-and-a-half days. In another interrogation of seven days, he was permitted only one hour's sleep. Many times he was ordered to take drugs, the purpose and nature of which he never understood. Some Americans are still prisoners in Communist China; we may well wonder if they are suffering a like ordeal.

Ten Years of Storm, translated from the Chinese by Lai Ming, has a foreword by Lin Yu-tang. The author is, perhaps, the only person in the free world who once occupied a top position in the Chinese Communist regime. He was a leader of the Democratic League, a political party of college professors and students with leftist views. In that capacity he was invited by the Chinese Communists, in 1949, to join the new regime organized in Peking, as a member of the Commission of Political and Legal Affairs.

During that period he gained a thorough understanding of Communist policies and activities. When he realized that his party was being tolerated strictly as window dressing and that the Chinese people as a whole suffered constant persecution and slaughter, he determined to escape to Hong Kong.

The original Chinese edition was well received throughout the Far East. Although the English translation is somewhat abridged, it still contains a record of the methods by which the Communists conquered the mainland, an excellent description of the personality of Mao Tse-tung, and a discussion of the policies and goals of the commune system.

Most interesting is Mr. Chow's look at



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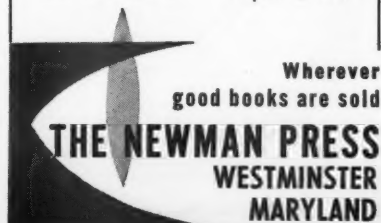
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a gallery of Western political figures from the Chinese Communist viewpoint. He comments that Communist leaders have no respect for Burma's U Nu, India's Nehru or Indonesia's Sukarno, but employ them as pawns in their international game. He notes that the Communist camp feared John Foster Dulles, who "caused them a lot of headaches." They had mixed feelings toward Eisenhower and were afraid of Nixon. The Communist leaders dislike Adenauer, hate Syngman Rhee, and know the tactics of Chiang Kai-shek. The book is very well written, and brimming with facts never before revealed. It is the best work so far on Communist China written in a popular style.

Secret Diary From Red China is the moving story of the tribulations of a young Chinese teacher who suffered because of false Communist accusations. The original manuscript was smuggled out of Red China as a diary written between the lines of a classic novel. It was finally sent to S. T. Tung in the United States, who transcribed and edited it.

This vivid record of Communist tyranny supports the other books in this review. It is a touching narration of the unconquerable stamina of the Chinese intellectuals in resisting oppression and falsehood. It expresses the hope and conviction of the persecuted Chinese for the eventual and inevitable triumph of freedom for noble minds.

JOHN B. TSU

MIDCENTURY

By John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin. 496p. \$5.95

Here were all the ingredients of an epic novel—a multitude of characters, people and incidents from history, sociological ideas, public and private conflict, nation-wide scope. Instead of an epic, it came out a sort of writer's notebook filled with bits of biography, fiction, polemic and newspaper clippings.

The ingredients never jell. It takes a good share of imagination—not provided by the book—to see how the profiles of Mrs. Roosevelt, General MacArthur, Dr. Oppenheimer, Dave Beck, John L. Lewis and General Dean mesh with the book's four fictional narratives or with the documentary anecdotes (called "Investigator's Notes").

There is one unifying element in the book. Mr. Dos Passos is concerned about labor. In fact, if *Midcentury* is a true picture, America is little more than a dead tree riddled with the termites of corrupt labor unions.

The novel of social protest undoubtedly has its function. But to be artistically justified it must be either a penetrating description alight with insight or a cry of indignation pulsing with emotion. *Midcentury* is more a petulant, recurring whine. JAMES W. MANOUSOS

THE WAR CALLED PEACE

By Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. Norton. 335p. \$4.50

The first part of this book, which refers to current Soviet strategy, is headed "Design for Confusion." Unfortunately, this might also serve as a descriptive title for the authors' mode of literary expression, as well as for much of their book's content. The Overstreets have set out to tell us what we should know about the matter and form of Khrushchev's variety of communism—most often sold under his own slogan of "peaceful coexistence." They have fallen far short of their goal. The book is organized badly. It is verbose, loose in its facts and notably hard to read. Worst of all, it blurs the real dangers of Khrushchev's new-style communism by too readily confusing it with past editions of Soviet aggression.

The authors, of course, make the points that the new policy of peaceful coexistence is fully as deadly as past Soviet techniques; that to Communists, who use their own language, "peace" means "war" in many contexts; that Khrushchev is a thoroughgoing ideological Communist, not a traditional power-seeker—and so on. But I wonder how many readers regard these as revelations. There are moments, also, when the wide-eyed manner of exposition is less than accurate. Take this passage, discussing the obstructionism and propaganda warfare of communism: "What is news is that it is now being openly practiced by the Premier of the Soviet State; by a man who will put into it all that he has because he is a Communist, because he is, by his very make-up, far more of an agitator than a diplomat. . . ." One might answer that it is hardly news to find a leader of the Soviet state acting this way, whether he is a Premier, a First Secretary of the party or combines both titles. They have been acting this way since 1919.

There are, indeed, a great many valuable observations and citations in the book—the chapters on the Soviet Seven Year Plan and the Communist use of history are particularly worthwhile. The chapter on Soviet-American exchange programs offers a very balanced view of this odd combination of

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RIL 15, 1961

problem and opportunity. But even where the insights and interest are found, they are vitiated by a glib condensation of events and interpretations.

The authors cite the case of the Communist take-over in the Indian state of Kerala, for example, as a singular case of power seizure by free election. Yet they explain this immensely complicated and interesting happening by a fast quotation from a local observer ("We ourselves put this question to a man who had followed the developments. . .") and by a few added lines of conclusion—e.g., "They had tried to turn elective authority into totalitarian power." They neglect even to mention the period of time in which the Kerala episode occurred.

If all this animated blackboard tapping resulted in a sharp analysis of Khrushchev's threats and problems, the effort of reading it would be worthwhile. But aside from finding assurances that "Khrushchev is playing for keeps" and that Jefferson is worth reminding the world about (do we need any further convincing about either of these propositions?), I have not discovered any such analysis. And two vastly important factors in the Communist picture are barely mentioned: the rise of Communist China and its interaction with Khrushchev's Russia.

Nor do the Overstreets bother about the formidable influence of the Soviet sputniks and the showy scientific progress they symbolize to people both outside the Soviet Union and within it. There is much disturbing evidence that the Russian people have been strengthened in their support of the Soviet system—they know no other—by such massive appeals to their own chauvinism. I wish I could be as sure as the Overstreets are of the firm distinction they make between the Communist party and the well-indoctrinated Soviet people.

FRANK GIBNEY



THE DEVIL'S ADVOCATE (Billy Rose). If one of the functions of drama is to clarify areas of life generally obscured in a fog of misunderstanding and controversy, *The Devil's Advocate* is

America • APRIL 15, 1961

America BOOK LOG

April

The Book Log is compiled from monthly reports supplied by selected stores. The ten books mentioned most frequently are rated according to a point system that reflects both a book's popularity and its relative importance.

1. **APPROACH TO CALVARY**
By Hubert van Zeller (Sheed & Ward, \$2.95)
2. **WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS**
By John Courtney Murray, S.J. (Sheed & Ward, \$5.00)
3. **TO LIVE IS CHRIST**
By Robert W. Gleason, S.J. (Sheed & Ward, \$3.00)
4. **GO TO HEAVEN**
By Fulton J. Sheen (McGraw-Hill, \$4.50)
5. **DR. THOMAS DOOLEY: THREE GREAT BOOKS**
(Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, \$5.00)
6. **THE DIVINE MILIEU**
By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (Harper, \$3.00)
7. **THIS IS THE HOLY LAND**
By Fulton J. Sheen (Hawthorn, \$4.95)
8. **THE CATHOLIC MARRIAGE MANUAL**
By George A. Kelly (Random House, \$4.95)
9. **1961 NATIONAL CATHOLIC ALMANAC**
St. Anthony's Guild (Doubleday, \$2.75)
10. **THE CATHOLIC YOUTH'S GUIDE TO LIFE AND LOVE**
By George A. Kelly (Random House, \$3.95)

AND MARK FOR NOTICE

These outstanding titles merit place in any listing of "what Catholics are or should be reading."

Adam, by David Bolt (Day, \$3). "Superb" is the word to describe this retelling of the story of the creation of the first man and woman and their fall. The atmosphere is shot through with a marvelous sense of innocence and wonder.

Tales From a Troubled Land, by Alan Paton (Scribner, \$3.50). The "troubled land" is South Africa, and these poignant stories by the author of *Cry, the Beloved Country* underscore the human agonies resulting from race prejudice.

The Château, by William Maxwell (Knopf, \$4.95). A leisurely story, superbly written, about two young Americans in France and how they fell in love with the country. To be savored—not rushed through.

The Crisis of Western Education, by Christopher Dawson (Sheed & Ward, \$3.95). A profound treatment of Dawson's thesis that mainly by recapturing the spirit of Christian humanism can the West be true to its cultural roots.

Ring of Bright Water, by Gavin Maxwell (Dutton, \$5). A naturalist's beautifully written account of a Scots Highland retreat and of his animal friends there—mainly otters. A delight.

The Maryknoll Fathers, by Glenn D. Kittler (World, \$5). A sprightly account, filled with dramatic incidents, of the founding and work of the famous missionary society.

Fiction

General

JESUIT COLLEGES and UNIVERSITIES

	Departments
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University of Santa Clara	LAS-AE-C-E-Ed-G-L-Sc-Sy-AROTC
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CONNECTICUT Fairfield University	LAS-C-Ed-G
ILLINOIS Loyola University (Chicago)	LAS-AE-C-D-Ed-G-HS-IR-L-M-N-S-Sc-Sy-Sp-AROTC
LOUISIANA Loyola University (New Orleans)	LAS-AE-C-D-DH-Ed-G-J-L-MT-Mu-P-Sc-Sy-T-AROTC
MARYLAND Loyola College (Baltimore)	LAS-G-AROTC
MASSACHUSETTS Boston College (Chestnut Hill)	LAS-C-Ed-G-L-N-S-Sc-Sy-AROTC
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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

LAS Arts and Sciences	G Graduate School	M Medicine	SF Sister Formation
AE Adult Education	HS Home Study	Mu Music	Sp Speech
A Architecture	ILL Institute of	N Nursing	Sy Seismology Station
C Commerce	L Languages and	P Pharmacy	T Theatre
D Dentistry	L Linguistics	PT Physical Therapy	AROTC Army
DH Dental Hygiene	IR Industrial Relations	RT Radio-TV	NROTC Navy
Ed Education	J Journalism	S Social Work	AFROTC Air Force
E Engineering	L Law	Sc Science	
FS Foreign Service	MT Medical Technology		



Marquette University

Now in its 80th year, Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wis., is a fully accredited, coeducational institution offering training and degrees in most of the professions. The student will find Marquette to be a pleasant, tradition-laden school thriving in a great American metropolis.

Sixty-eight buildings now in use at expanding Marquette provide excellent libraries, laboratories and classrooms for a student body of more than 11,000 and a faculty of more than 950. Ten schools and colleges with 81 departments and divisions offer students opportunities to satisfy their special academic interests and talents in undergraduate and graduate studies, and professional training, too.

Of special interest is the campus Vocational Guidance Center. One of the first universities to recognize the importance of vocational guidance and placement, Marquette boasts more than three decades of background in this field.

easily the most significant play of the season.

The central character is a priest who, after saying Mass and hearing confessions in the many years since his ordination, comes to full understanding of his faith when, stricken with cancer, he has only a few months to live. His last days, when he is in continual agony, turn out to be the happiest time of his life.

Msgr. Blaise Meredith, of the Congregation of Rites, has the option of spending the brief remainder of his life in a hospital, his pain eased by sedation. He prefers to go on working, however, and is sent to a province in southern Italy to investigate the clamor for the beatification of a local hero, who had been murdered by Communists. His assignment is to ferret out reasons why beatification should be denied.

The dying monsignor finds witnesses are loath to testify, lest they reveal their personal vices. The reluctant witnesses include an alcoholic priest, a libidinous widowed countess, a male deviate, a frustrated Jewish doctor and a woman who had shared her bed with the candidate for beatification, bearing him a son. As the witnesses eventually open up, the Jewish doctor first, the drama gathers the suspense of an Agatha Christie detective story.

Adapted by Dore Schary from a novel by Morris L. West, the play presents a gallery of three-dimensional characters, all of them portrayed in living colors. The most impressive figure, perhaps, is the woman who had been the prospective saint's girl friend. Through her eyes we see the man as the peasantry saw him. A more admirable character is the wise and charitable bishop, who wants fewer churches and more worshipers in the churches he has; fewer priests and more nursing nuns; more schools, more hospitals and more modern agriculture; fewer saints and more sanctity in the hearts of his people. Mr. Schary delineates the stray sheep as well as the conscientious shepherds with understanding and compassion.

Leo Genn, Sam Levene and Edward Mulhare are starred in the production and deserve their billing. Eduardo Cian-nelli, as the mellowing bishop, and Tresa Hughes, as the saint's mistress, invest their roles with warmth and vitality. Mr. Levene, usually cast in a comic role, renders his finest performance. The direction, by Mr. Schary, has the dignity and virility compatible with a spiritual ordeal. Mr. Schary is also the author and the producer.

Jo Mielziner's mobile settings, perhaps his most ingenious, provide an authentic background, and Theoni Al-

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RIL 15, 1961

dredge's costumes lend the production persuasive atmosphere. The Aldredge blending of cardinal red with the satins and tweeds of the gentry and the drab but picturesque garb of the peasants make the play an impressive experience.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS



QUESTION 7 (*Louis de Rochemont Associates*). There have been all too many times in the history of both Catholicism and Protestantism when the police powers of the state have been used to enforce conformity with the established religion. At other times, though not actively engaged in persecuting one another, the individual religious bodies have been unbecomingly complaisant about the oppression of a religion other than their own by some outside agency. The campaign of present-day totalitarianism to erase man's allegiance to any power except that of the state has had at least one salutary effect. It has impelled the churches to stand shoulder to shoulder in the face of a common mortal peril and to recognize how much more important are the beliefs they share than the things that separate them.

Question 7 is a quietly chilling account of the pressures exerted on religion in Communist East Germany. The central characters of the story are a Lutheran pastor (Michael Gwynn) and his teen-aged son (Christian de Bresson). The film is the work of many of the same people who made *Martin Luther* several years ago. There is here, however, no hint of controversial sectarianism. Neither is there the opposite excess, religious indifference. It is simply that the picture deals with the areas in which the contemporary Caesar is usurping the things that are God's. These areas are the same for every believer, and every believer can identify himself intimately with the anguish of the two heroes.

Is the film "anti-Communist propaganda"? I tend to use the term "propaganda" in the pejorative sense when applying it to drama, in other words, to describe a play or movie that steps out of and/or distorts its natural dra-

matic context to deliver its message. *Question 7* does not do this. Its situations are plausible and follow logically from the original premise. Furthermore, its indictment of communism is all the more effective because it is consistently understated and its Communists are believable human beings rather than one-dimensional monsters.

In a broader sense, I suppose the picture is propaganda in that it set out to furnish information about Communist oppression and Christian resistance behind the Iron Curtain rather than to serve merely as pure entertainment (another term that is easier to misuse than to define properly). Along the way, in any case, it succeeds in seeming both very moving and—photographed on location in a town just a few miles this side of the German East-West boundary—unassailably authentic. [L of D: A-I and Special Recommendation]

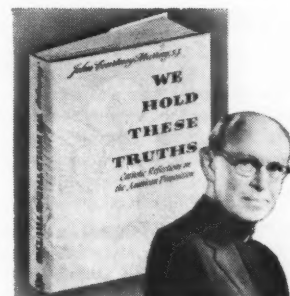
ONE-EYED JACKS (*Paramount*) is the first film directed by Marlon Brando. Released approximately three years after shooting was first started, it has been cut by slightly more than half from its original five-hour running time. The intervening years, needless to say, have been filled with rumors, supposedly straight from the horse's mouth, describing the picture as everything from a masterpiece to a disaster.

It turns out to be an offbeat western which is neither. At moments, however, it is directed with so evident a flair for the medium, and boasts such pictorial beauty and distinction, that its frequent lapses from coherent and meaningful storytelling seem temporarily unimportant.

The story concerns the moral, legal, physical and psychological duel between two former partners in crime. One (Karl Malden), inwardly unregenerate, has settled down to surface respectability on the proceeds of their last holdup. The other (Brando himself), who took the rap for the crime, has now escaped from jail and is seeking revenge. He does not get it, partly because the better side of his nature begins to assert itself and partly because it turns out that hell hath no fury like an evil man fighting to preserve his reputation for rectitude. It is never quite clear, however, what point the picture was trying to make with these oblique comments on human nature. As a result, the acting duel between the two stars is easier to follow and often more interesting than the conflict between the two characters they play. [L of D: A-III]

MOIRA WALSH

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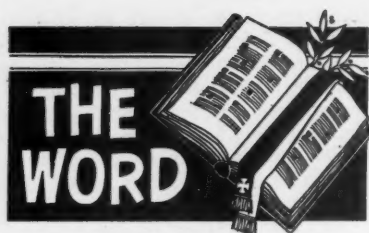
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Grant us, we pray, almighty God, that we who receive from You the grace of a new life may always glory in Your gift (Postcommunion of the Mass for the Second Sunday after Easter).

When, after the Communion, the ablutional tidying-up is completed, the celebrant of the Mass moves to his right and reads from the missal the brief Communion Verse. Exactly as at the Offertory, this short saying is a relic—in this case, a relic of the psalm which the people used to sing during the Communion Procession. One realizes, as he studies the liturgy, how much physical participation there was on the part of the laity as they shared in the sacrificial action.

Pausing only to kiss the altar and greet the people once more, the priest directly reads the final prayer of the Mass, the Postcommunion. Says the liturgist Dom Trethowan: "The Postcommunion Prayer sums up in the manner of the Secret, using the same terse and luminous language, the significance of the great act which has been performed."

By way of illustration, let us examine the Postcommunion of our present Sunday Mass. The key words in this prayer are *the grace of a new life*. The Latin uses a very active word, for it speaks of a *vivification*.

Sometimes we who believe in and honestly try to love our Lord seem to be attentive to what everyone except our Lord says about the Eucharist. But let the kindly reader take up his New Testament and read carefully, in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, the six verses from 54 to 59, which contain our Saviour's only specific remarks on the effects of eating and drinking His body and blood. In this short passage some form of the word *live* occurs seven times, more than once to a verse. Christ's own insistence, then, in connection with the Eucharist, is that the Eucharist is life-giving, vivifying.

This life, which is actually imparted in baptism and nourished by Holy Communion, has three aspects.

First, as is evident, the life in question is not physical and natural, but

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spiritual and supernatural. Christ promises this life to *the man who eats My flesh and drinks My blood*. But eating and drinking are vital acts, and there is no point in promising physical life to anyone thus physically alive. A little later our Lord on that same occasion said carefully to the shocked crowd: *Only the spirit gives life; the flesh is of no avail; and the words I have been speaking to you are spirit, and life*. Now supernatural life consists essentially in the possession of sanctifying grace. The Eucharist does not ordinarily convey sanctifying grace where it is absent. The one who receives Holy Communion must be already alive not only physically but spiritually, and Christ in the sacrament will then powerfully nourish that supernatural life.

Next, this life is literally an extension of, or, much better, an actual sharing in, the interior life of Christ. As *I live because of the Father, the living Father who has sent Me, so he who eats Me will live, in his turn, because of Me*. The parallelism between the inner life of Christ and the inner life of him who Eucharistically receives Christ could not be more clearly or more strongly expressed. One thinks immediately of the celebrated cry of St. Paul, that perfect echo (as we might expect) of what our Lord had said: *With Christ I hang upon the cross, and yet I am alive; or rather, not I; it is Christ that lives in me*. Perhaps, as we move in life from hour to hour, we do not advert nearly often enough to the startling fact that we are living with a life distinct from our own, a life incalculably superior to our own, a life that is no other than the Christ-life. Such is the exalted existence that people throw away by committing serious sin.

Lastly, this *new life* is nothing less than everlasting, and such is the special point of insistence in our Saviour's own exposition. *The man who eats My flesh and drinks My blood enjoys eternal life, and I will raise him up*—physical death is therefore supposed—at *the last day* . . . *the man who eats this bread will live eternally*. It is heartening to reflect that every Mass and especially every Holy Communion is a concrete, living pledge from Christ in Person that someday, somehow, all will be well with us. Not only well, but perfectly well, and entirely, everlastingly perfect.

We ask, as the prayer closes, that we *may always glory in Your gift*; the gift of the Mass, the gift of the Eucharist, the gift (for it is only a matter of time, then) of *eternal life*. It is really wonderful to pray as the Church prays.

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

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• The 1960
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proved that large num-
bers of our fellow Americans
still doubt the commitment of
American Catholics to the principles
of a free society. The CATHOLIC MIND,
therefore, will return from time to time to
the Church-State question. This entire number
is devoted to this subject. • GUSTAVE WEIGEL,
S.J., a prominent Catholic theologian, contributes
to the Church-State debate by clarifying the distinc-
tion between the "sacral," the order of religion, and the
"secular," the order of law. • DR. JOHN C. BENNETT, an
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